The Outlook

Volume 137 June 4, 1924 Number 5

Japan a Generous Host

AS The Outlook was going to press last week it was reported that the American fliers had reached and stopped at Minato. It seems that this report was incorrect. Storms held them a while at Yeterofu, and then, on the 22d, they made the 720 miles to Kasumigaura in 12 hours and 50 minutes, stopping at Minato two hours for lunch.

At Kasumigaura is a great naval base, and here the planes will remain perhaps a week, refitting and receiving such readjustment as they need. They arrived in excellent condition.

Kasumigaura is not far from Tokyo. It is noteworthy that at the naval base as well as in Tokyo, and at Minato, for that matter, the American aviators have received a remarkably warm and enthusiastic welcome, all the more significant when one considers that the pride of Japan has been hurt by the unnecessary brusqueness of Congress in excluding Japanese in the new Immigration Law. It is perfectly proper to exclude whom we please. Japanese statesmen see that clearly enough and appreciate our standpoint. It was the manner in which it was done that has tended to cause a quite unnecessary feeling of resentment. The visit of our aviators and the extraordinary personal influence of Ambassador Woods are doing much to dissipate this unfriendly feeling. And before long, it is hoped, our good friends the Japanese will realize that race equality is not questioned. It is merely a matter of great racial dissimilarity, a consideration that the Japanese themselves would be the first to recognize if the conditions were reversed.

The New Immigration Law

IN signing the new Immigration Law President Coolidge has, we believe, acted in accordance with the overwhelming sentiment of the country. In spite of the unfortunately brusque manner in which that law terminates the successful gentlemen's agreement with Japan and shuts out all ordinary immigrants from Japan from July 1 on, the law is a great improvement upon the former Immigration Law both in its further restriction of immigration and in its fairer distribution of it. President Coolidge in his statement accompanying his signature made it clear that the provision which affects especially the Japanese does not imply any change in our attitude of cordiality

International

Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith, who led the Army airplane flight across the Pacific

towards the Japanese people, but is an unnecessary enactment and deplorable, and that he would disapprove it if it were not of great importance that a comprehensive measure should be passed now.

The new law provides that immigrants shall be restricted to two per cent (instead of three per cent) of the number of foreign-born of the respective nations resident in the United States at the time of the 1890 (instead of the 1910) Census. This provision has been criticised as a discrimination against those kinds of immigrants that have come in especially large numbers since 1890. The fact is that the existing provision, which has now been abandoned, has been a discrimination in favor of those particular kinds of immigrants.

We do not believe that the quota method is the best way of dealing with immigration; but, as long as we are to have it, the application of it in the bill that has now become a law marks a distinctive advance.

Administering the Bonus

WHEN the Bonus Bill became law, the War Department announced that the essential facts as to every man who served in the Army during the war are immediately available to the Department, and that the work of carrying out the provisions of the law will be immediately begun. Major-General Robert C. Davis, who was General Pershing's executive officer in the field, will be in charge of the work with a staff of 2,800 men and women, most of whom are to be recruited from Civil Service lists. It is estimated that certificates will have been issued within nine months for all veterans who are entitled to benefits under the act. On these certificates the Veterans' Bureau will issue insurance policies or, for those who receive cash payment, checks. The work of issuing the policies will, of course, be longer reaching completion, but it is believed that practically all policies should be in the hands of veterans within a year from the passage of the law.

Here is the most stupendous administrative task that has faced any Government department since the war, certainly, and it is doubtful if any single task of the war period was greater. Service records of five and a quarter million men are involved, though perhaps not more than 3,500,000 are entitled to benefits.

Application blanks will be distributed to all men who performed military service. These blanks are to be as simple as is consistent with certainty of identification. For the first time in the history of governmental dealings with veterans finger prints not only of the claimant but of his dependents are to be required on the application. This will obviate the necessity for other irksome methods of identification and, the Department believes, will be particularly serviceable later on and at the end of the twenty-year period, when many of the comrades able to identify veterans will have passed away.

There has been a violent difference of

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opinion as to the granting of a bonus, but, now that it has been granted, there will be universal gratification that the agencies concerned are apparently ready to perform the work so promptly and effectively. There has been heretofore too much delay in connection with many of the dealings of the Government with war veterans. Not all of it has yet been cured. The public would certainly look with bitterness upon undue delay and upon any breath of scandal in connection with the administration of the bonus. If the Government has one duty more urgent than others, it is to keep this business clean and current.

Perhaps Congress Does Not Always Achieve Overwhelming Approval

INTIMATIONS from Washington indicate that all of our Congressmen have not been overwhelmed with messages approving their overriding of the President's veto of the Bonus Bill.

For instance, on Friday, May 23, the Republican State Convention of Vermont adopted a resolution emphatically censuring Senator Dale and Representative Gibson, of that State, for failing to support the President's veto. They were elected after Mr. Coolidge became President. It was understood that they would support him. As the New York "Herald Tribune" puts it, "Vermont properly considers them renegades and has posted them as such."

In Massachusetts, too, some folks do not seem at all pleased with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, supposedly a Republican leader, who also opposed the President and helped override the veto. In order to focus the very openly expressed resentment in that State, the Boston "Herald" began a referendum on the bonus veto, and in a few hours received over 3,000 signed opinions favoring the President against Senator Lodge in a proportion of 250 to 1! If straws tell how the wind blows, it looks as if there were a goodly breeze in prospect. May it sweep clean!

A Choice Between Evils

THE Tax Bill as it has passed Congress after conference between the Senate and the House is a better bill than that which passed the Senate; in some particulars it is better than that which passed the House.

Two of the most objectionable features of the Senate bill were modified in conference. The provision for a heavy tax on undistributed profits of corporations was eliminated entirely, leaving the present rate of 12½ per cent effective. The provision for publicity of tax returns, while not eliminated, was modified in such way as to make it less objectionable. Tax returns are still subject to inspection by the Board of Tax Appeals and by certain Congressional committees. Also, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is directed to post in each district the amount of tax paid by each person in that district, but the sources from which the income was derived are not made public, as was contemplated in the Senate bill.

It was intimated that the conferees agreed to elimination of the Senate corporation tax provision in the hope that such action would insure the President's approval of the bill. Republican leaders in Congress again expressed the belief that the President will sign the bill. No intimation of probable action has come from the White House, however. There were reports during the week that Secretary of the Treasury Mellon would ask the President to exercise the veto.

Probably the President's decision with regard to this disappointing bill will be announced before this issue of The Outlook reaches its readers. What Congress has presented to the President is a perplexing choice between evils. On the one hand, there is the evil of continuing the present unnecessarily high taxes. On the other hand, there is the evil of this in many respects obnoxious bill. Is the present law the less or the greater evil of the two? Though the new bill reduces normal taxes materially on modest incomes and provides a twenty per cent reduction in the maximum surtaxes, it is not a scientific but a political arrangement of tax schedules. Moreover, its provision for publicity of tax returns, though not as objectionable as it was in the form in which it passed the Senate, is bad, and would of itself almost, if not quite, justify a veto. Whichever of the two evils the President chooses, the fact that it is an evil is due to Congress.

Our Naval Deficiencies

SECRETARY WILBUR has confirmed the statement made by Theodore Roosevelt, of the Navy Department, that the real fighting ratio between the navies of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan is at present approximately 5-4-3. "This ratio," the Secretary said, "does not take into consideration strategically located and well-equipped naval bases, which add greatly to the sea power of a nation, nor does it take into consideration the relative strength of the various merchant marines."

The chief need of our Navy, Secretary Wilbur points out, is in the direction of destroyer leaders, submarines, aircraft carriers, cruisers, river gunboats, various non-fighting auxiliaries, and the modernization of our present war-vessels.

In the matter of aviation Secretary Wilbur denied that the United States was behind other navies of the world either in theory or in practice. On the contrary, there is no little evidence that the United States, so far as naval aviation is concerned, is at the head of the list. Many things which are being carried on by our naval aviators as a matter of routine operation are not even attempted by the naval aviation forces of other countries.

It is vitally necessary that Congress fully support our naval aviation and also provide at the earliest possible moment for those deficiencies in our naval forces so clearly pointed out by Secretary Wilbur.

The Recreation Conference

THE first National Conference on Outdoor Recreation has been held at Washington, D. C., and has made its plans for permanency.

This first meeting could hardly have evolved more than a confession of faith; yet this confession is the most significant thing for the preservation and right use of our resources that has occurred perhaps, in all time, certainly the most significant that has occurred since Roosevelt guided the Nation into a definite policy of Conservation. President Coolidge, in calling this Conference and endowing it with the means of perpetuating itself as a citizens' organization with Governmental encouragement, employed a quality of constructive statesmanship that is greater than any that has been displayed in these recent times in legislative hall or in executive council chamber.

That fact may not make itself fully manifest for a generation. Meanwhile,

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Piled With Grievous Taxes

(Richard II, Act II, Scene 1).

Darling in the Hartford Times

OSWALD I JUST DREAD TO THINK WHAT YOUR PA WILL SAY WHEN HE COMES HOME AND FINDS YOU HAVENT CUT THAT GRASS!
CAMPAIGN PROMISES
CONGRESS
TAXES
L.N.DING

Grown so long now it will need a scythe

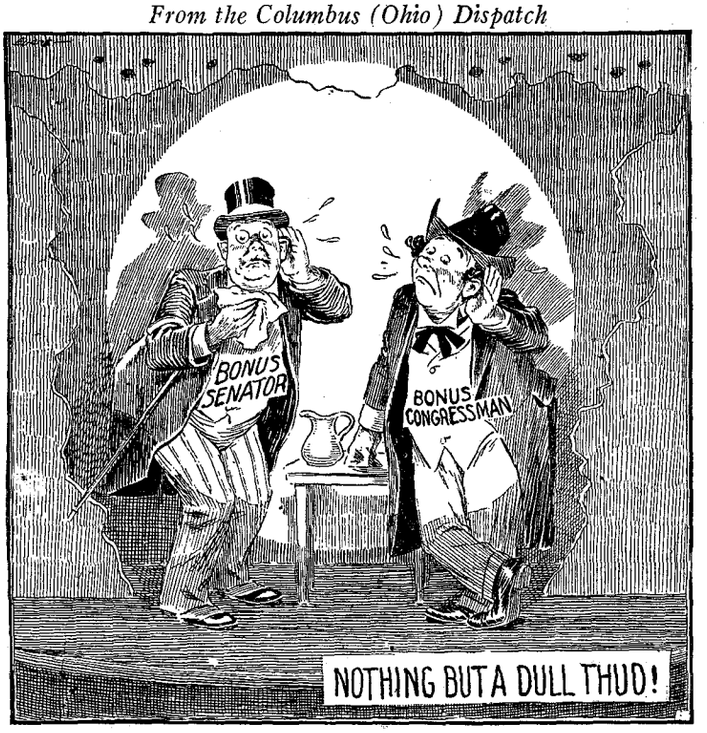
From Mrs. R. B. Clark, Hartford, Conn.

Seibel in the Knickerbocker Press

Bringing home the swag

From Mrs. M. C. Cook, Albany, N. Y.

From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch



Listening for the applause

From Georgiana Ferguson, Columbus, Ohio

Morris in the Brattleboro Daily Reformer

THE SENATOR WHO DISREGARDED THE PRESIDENTS DEMAND FOR INCOME TAX REDUCTION
TO BE USED NEXT ELECTION DAY
INCOME TAX PAYER
Morris

Copyright by George Matthew Adams

The rod in pickle

From Mrs. Charles A. Lewis, Grafton, Vt.

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will be looked upon lightly by those who think only superficially. This Conference had to do with recreation, with play. It had to do with the æsthetic and recreative—with birds and flowers, with trees as trees rather than as potential lumber, with streams as sources of enjoyment and channels of health rather than as sources of industrial power or channels of commerce.

In all of that those who in their own minds define development as exploitation will see little of useful conservation, yet there is in it as a fact the heart of the whole ideal of Conservation. President Coolidge in his call for the Conference said, among other things, this:

> I want to see all Americans have a reasonable amount of leisure. Then I want to see them educated to use such leisure for their own enjoyment and betterment, and the strengthening of their quality of citizenship. . . . We must make our land a land of vision, a land of work, of sincere striving for the good, but we must add to all these, in order to round out the full stature of the people, an ample effort to make it a land of wholesome enjoyment and perennial gladness.

There is expressed the soul of the ideal of Conservation. The saving of our resources were a sordid thing if it were done for ultimate profit only, if it were done with any other view than that of securing to all the people through all the generations to be the fullest enjoyment that can be had, the freest use for physical and moral betterment that can be made, of all the resources with which the land was endowed by nature. That has been always the creed of every conservationist worthy the name. It has been misunderstood by many and misrepresented by those who, under the name of conservationists, are exploitationists. The President's Conference has defined Conservation to the public and has set in motion the machinery by which our resources will be used in bringing health and happiness and good citizenship.

Human Conservation

THE National Conference on Outdoor Recreation was not a bureau-dominated meeting. The President called it and named members of his Cabinet as an initiating committee. He named Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., as Executive Chairman for the first sessions. He stated its purpose—to encourage Americans to make more use of America, to stimulate every possible interest in out-of-doors recreation, to co-ordinate resources and opportunities to that purpose. Beyond that, organizations having nothing directly to do with Government performed the work of the Conference.

P. and A. Photos

National Conference on Outdoor Recreation. Left to right: R. S. Yard, of National Park Association; George Shiras 3d, Naturalist of National Geographical Society; Charles P. Sheldon, of Boone and Crockett Club; Miss Grace Abbott, of Children's Bureau; Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Executive Chairman of Commission; L. Radcliffe, Bureau of Fisheries; L. F. Kneipp, Executive Secretary of Commission; Captain A. P. Fairfield, U. S. N.; A. P. Kammerer, Interior Department

All National organizations having to do with outdoor activities were invited. More than 130 of them responded by sending delegates. These organizations were as dissimilar in purpose as the Camp-Fire Girls and the American Association of Museums, as the American Federation of Labor and the Association for the Advancement of Science. Many of them were, as they had themselves thought, organizations with antagonistic aims. These, before the Conference had been long in session, discovered that they were working toward the same general end and that they could work better together. Here, perhaps, was the most important single thing accomplished.

The talk ran naturally to open spaces. It was agreed that there should be opportunity for all of the people, of metropolis and small city and country place, to indulge in the recreations of the open. Every city, however great or however small, should have a wild-land park. There should be county parks and county forests, State parks and State forests, and these should be co-ordinated one with all—the city, the country, the State, the Nation.

Obviously and naturally, the primary consideration was Conservation. There can be no outdoor recreation without forest cover, without streams of unpolluted water, without marshland areas through which the waters find their way to the sea. In these are the song birds and the game birds, the meat animals and the fur bearers, the fish and the water fowl.

Reforestation, reclamation, survey of resources, scores of agencies looked upon primarily as economic, turned themselves naturally to recreational needs. This was no sentimentalists' love feast. It was a scientific consideration of making good citizens and maintaining a high civilization by insuring the means of recreation for child and adult.

Planning for a Generation Ahead

SEVENTEEN special committees of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation drafted resolutions, which were redrafted as general recommendations by a General Committee on Resolutions. These committees were: Furtherance of International Relations; Correlation of the Work of Federal Agencies; Correlation of Agencies other than Federal; Game and Fur-Bearing Animals; Birds; Plants and Flowers; Fish; Federal Land Policy; Policies Dealing with State and County Parks and Forests; Policies Dealing with Municipal Parks and Playgrounds; Recreation Needs for Children; Citizenship Value of Outdoor Recreation; Survey and Classification of Recreation Resources; Financial Encouragement of Outdoor Recreation; Waterway Pollution and Drainage; Value of Outdoor Recreation to Industrial Workers.

A programme of legislation was outlined which, if a Congress with vision to enact it can be secured, means the most thorough and adequate conservation system in the world. We cite the recommendations of the Committee on Pollution and Drainage as typical:

> That solution of the problem must be sought, first, by educating public opinion to bring about co-operation of

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all corrective influences; second, by securing detailed information concerning the extent, sources, and nature of pollution; third, by encouraging technical investigation of exact conditions and means for transforming noxious into harmless substances; and, fourth, to secure the adoption of corrective measures by National and State authorities; and

Whereas, the United States possesses 80,000,000 acres of swamp and overflow land important for equalizing stream run-off by holding rainfall and, in many instances, serving as the breeding grounds of fish and wild life, be it

Resolved, That indiscriminate drainage is to be deplored as a source of conspicuous waste, and that careful investigation should be made in advance of all drainage operations to determine resultant benefits and injuries.

An Advisory Committee of seventy persons and an Executive Committee of thirteen, with authority to employ executive officers, are in charge of all these recommendations and of the future of the Conference. On these Committees are persons who represent all of the sections of the country and all of the classes of the population interested in outdoor activities. Annual meetings will be held and, doubtless, a permanent office will be maintained for putting into practice the confession of National faith written upon the initiative of President Coolidge.

The Hero of Kut-el-Amara

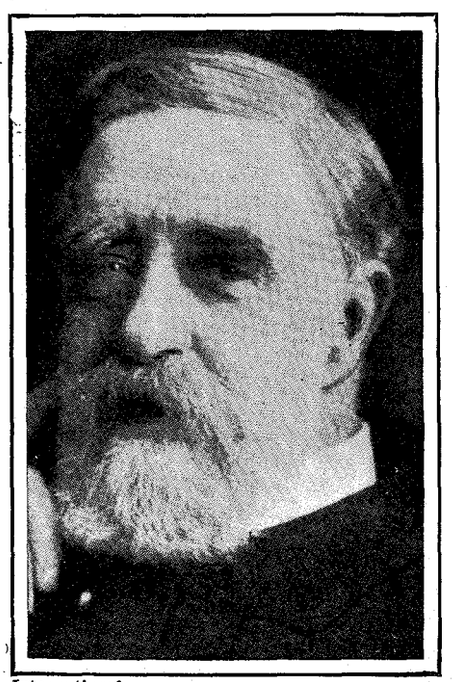
It might seem a misnomer to regard as a hero a commander who in the Great War failed in his attempt upon Bagdad and was driven back in retreat to Kut-el-Amara, where, after a siege of several months, he surrendered to the enemy. But, rightly, the British people and the British war critics so consider Major-General Sir Charles V. F. Townshend, who died in Paris on May 18. His campaigns in Mesopotamia were not supported or organized by the British War Office in such a way as to insure success. Yet he was urged to action by the War Office, and a decisive victory in the East would have been of exceeding value. General Townshend in his exciting and readable book "My Campaign" fully justified his course.

In point of fact, the battle of Kut-el-Amara and the battle of Ctesiphon were brilliant and heroic fights. Townshend held his position near Kut-el-Amara during a four months' siege ending in his surrender only because of the exhaustion and half-starved state of his command. One illustration of modern warfare of special interest in this siege was that food was several times furnished to the starving troops by airplanes, which dropped it into the camp.

It has been said with apparent truth that General Townshend's exploits in Mesopotamia proved the possibility of a drive through to the Russian allied lines, the division of the enemy, and the consequent capture of Bagdad and Jerusalem, accomplished later by General Maude and General Allenby.

A friend of General Townshend, writing about him in The Outlook in 1920, pointed out that his active military career began in Africa in 1885, was continued in India in 1891, and included also sharp fighting in the South African War. He was a student and admirer of Napoleon's military tactics and a collector of Napoleonic literature and relics. Personally he was a man of brilliant qualities, was interested in play-writing and the theater, and was one of the best tellers of stories in conversation of his time.

That the Turks themselves honored and appreciated General Townshend was shown by the fact that they allowed him to retain his sword, and, when the day of their final surrender came, they selected him to carry their message to the British forces. He was always of the opinion that, if the so-called Eastern "side-show" had been adequately supported and pushed forward, successes in Palestine and Mesopotamia might have been gained in 1915 or 1916 with vital advantage to the Allies.



International

Sir William E. Goschen

An English Diplomat

Probably no other single phrase growing out of the Great War will remain longer in men's minds than that of the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, who called the treaty which should have secured Belgian neutrality and safety "a scrap of paper." This naïve exposure of the German idea of honor as between nations was expressed by the Chancellor in conversation with William Edward Goschen, then British Ambassador at Berlin, who died on May 20 in London. Probably the name of Goschen will best be known to posterity because of his being the recipient of that callous and lawless remark.

Sir William Goschen was a typical representative of the English diplomat. He served his country in many capacities as attaché, secretary, Minister Plenipotentiary, Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador. He spent forty-five years in the diplomatic service at Madrid, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Paris, Constantinople, Peking, Copenhagen, Washington, Vienna, Petrograd, Lisbon, and finally at Berlin. At the end of this long period of activity in behalf of his country he retired and was made a baronet. He was well worthy of the praise and appreciation which those who know of the responsibilities and difficulties encountered by the trained diplomat have bestowed upon him. His later activities were particularly valuable in keeping his Home Office informed of the subtle tangles and dangers that were evident to his trained eye in Germany, Austria, and Russia, and which finally flared up into destructive war in 1914. He is sometimes confused in newspaper references with Viscount Goschen, who died in 1907 and was a great financier and the financial authority in the Liberal party in Gladstone's Government.

Chicago, Canada, and the Lakes

Canadian objection to the proposed diversion by Chicago of more of the water of the Great Lakes greatly increases that city's perplexities. Chicago needs an ampler way of escape for the impurities cast off continually by so great

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The writing-room of the Columbus, the new North German Lloyd steamship

a city. It also wants a big waterway on which to float cheap and bulky freight over the space between its docks and the Mississippi River. It already draws from the lake a supply of water for its present drainage canal. With the authorization of the Federal Government and the consent of Canada, it draws at the rate of 4,167 cubic feet a second; it now requires, owing to its growth in the past quarter century, a considerable additional supply.

An action to enjoin the city from exceeding its allowance of lake water has been carried up to the Supreme Court. The latest diplomatic note on behalf of Canada indicates that the Dominion intends to persist in its opposition to any withdrawal of water in excess of the agreed quantity. The assertion in this note, that the St. Lawrence navigation below Montreal is likely to suffer, and that the locks on the lake route to the sea need all their present supply of water, may, it is said, disturb those interests in Chicago itself which look forward to an enlarged St. Lawrence waterway bringing ocean freighters to the city's docks. While Chicago wants to wash its drainage and float its barges southward, it aspires also to the position of a virtual seaport, sending its goods direct by water to all the shores of the world. The Lakes receive only a limited and fairly fixed quantity of water from the skies each year. Chicago needs the Lakes quite as much as it needs the drainage canal.

Another Columbus Arrives

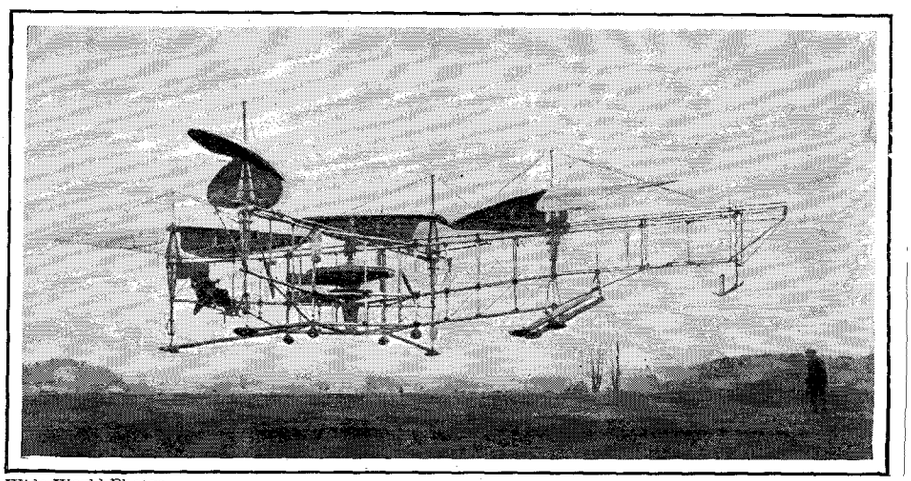
WHILE most of the ship-building countries, and particularly the United States, have become used since the war to seeing their plants lying almost stagnant, and while America's war merchant fleet in great part lies anchored, slowly rusting away, Germany has been bending every effort of a highly efficient and technically able nation to replace the immense number of ships taken from her, justly enough, by the Allies.

First, of course, came numbers of smaller merchant ships, the kind that carry the bulk of the world's exports and imports. A month ago there arrived in New York the first great German passenger liner to take the place of those floating cities that before the war were almost the last word in construction of this nature.

The Columbus is no unworthy successor. It ranks sixth in size among the world's great vessels, is 775 feet long, and displaces 39,000 tons, thus surpassing the famous George Washington, formerly of the Norddeutscher Lloyd. She is, of course, an oil-burner, and makes a speed of 20 knots.

We are accustomed to an ornateness of appointment in our great modern ships that is to be found only in the finest of hotels. The furnishings and decorations of the Columbus maintain a very high standard of taste, and the accommodations for even the third-class passengers are excellent.

This is not an advertising brief for the German merchant marine, though credit should go where credit is due. We wish merely to point out a contrast in accomplishment and policy between two seafaring and manufacturing nations. The United States, which had the makings of a great merchant marine four or five years ago, sees its fleets deteriorating and its goods carried more and more in foreign bottoms. On the other hand, Germany, who lost most of her ships



Wide World Photos

A prize-winning Helicopter—used by Lieutenant Oehmichen in the recent tests in France, where it won the prize of 90,000 francs

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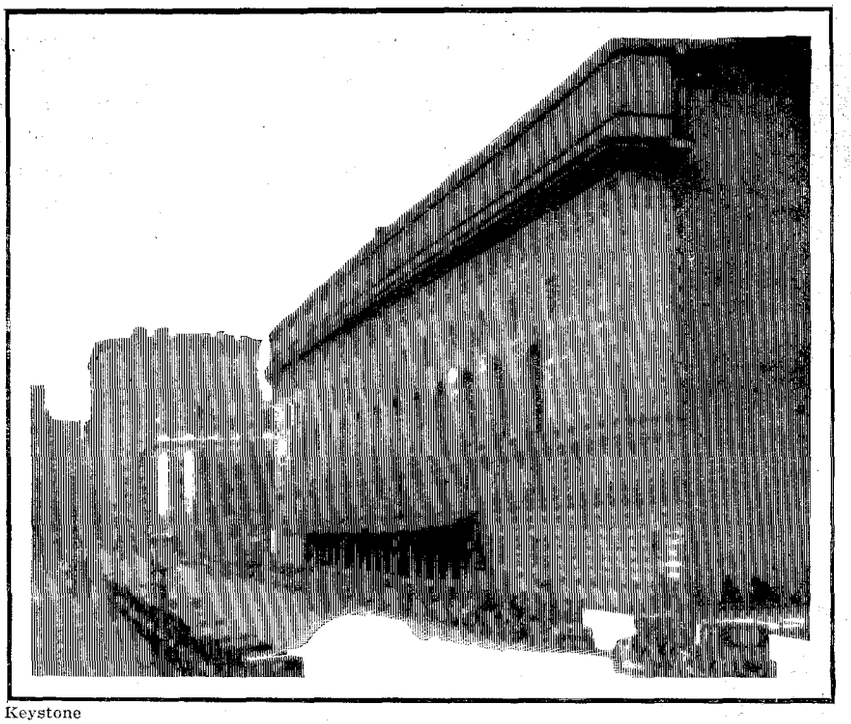

Keystone

Photographs transmitted by telephone—An example of the new method, showing the Public Hall of Cleveland, Ohio, in which the Republican National Convention will be held on June 10. This photograph was sent from Cleveland to New York in five minutes

through the war, begins almost at the bottom and regardless of cost recreates an efficient merchant marine and now sends us a very notable object-lesson, the Columbus, one of the finest liners in the world.

Why the Helicopter?

During a flight recently made in France the Oehmichen helicopter successfully covered a circuit of over a mile, thus winning a prize of 90,000 francs. In speculating on this hopeful advance in helicoptric flight it is interesting to note that it was just twenty years ago that the American, Wright, attracted world-wide attention by making a similarly short flight at Le Mans, France. Is the helicopter, then, destined to reach the present well-proved status of the airplane?

No one knows as yet, but steady progress has been made during recent years. Other larger prizes have been posted by foreign governments awaiting the day when a helicopter can compete on comparative terms with an airplane. But with the latter already a success, why perfect the former?

The helicopter, unlike the airplane, would be able to rise directly from and land directly on the ground without the necessity of a long runway. Better still for purposes of attack, it would be able to hover over one spot indefinitely, while an airplane must keep moving or fall at once. Instead of the kite-like action of the planes driven forward while inclined at a small angle with the earth, the action of the helicopter is essentially a vertical one. If a screw propeller were to be held on a shaft in a vertical position, like an umbrella, and whirled, it would tend to lift the holder straight up. This is the very simple principle of the helicopter.

Photographs by Telephone

While from time to time there have been exhibited specimens of photographs which have been by ingenious devices sent over the telephone, an advance has been lately made which bids fair to revolutionize that form of art work. The fact that the process just exhibited is practical for news purposes is shown by the announcement of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company that it will be put in use at the Republican Convention at Cleveland for transmitting by telephone photographs of the exciting scenes in the Convention for free distribution among newspapers as a demonstration of the methods and possibilities of the invention.

Recently pictures were sent from Cleveland to New York and printed in the next morning's papers. What is most notable is the fact that only forty-four minutes elapsed between the time when the photograph was taken in Cleveland and the time when it was shown completely developed in the office of the company in New York City. The actual transmission of the picture was only five minutes, the rest of the time being used for developing and printing.

The results obtained are described by those who saw the transmission carried out as a triumph of electrical genius and extraordinary inventive ability.

The exact process is described in its fundamental features in as simple a way as possible as follows: "Thin vertical lines constitute each picture; the sending apparatus transforms these lines into electrical waves, which vary in strength according to the degree of light or dark in that part of the picture; when received, a beam of light is played upon a sensitive film and the strength of the electrical current determines the width of the lines recorded. Thus, line by line, the pictures is reproduced."

Dr. Eliot Speaks for Prohibition

The citizens' Committee of One Thousand for Law Enforcement has made public a comment by the President Emeritus of Harvard, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, concerning the anti-prohibition views of President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University. In brief, Dr. Eliot disagrees, in a thoroughly dignified but emphatic manner, with every one of Dr. Butler's criticisms.

Contrary to the opinion of many, he feels that Dr. Butler's statement "will not increase the number of wets in the United States; it will dishearten no dry students; it has no tendency whatever to prove that constitutional government has failed."

Dr. Eliot then tells how unitedly the teachers and educators of the country favor teaching all children the effects of alcohol on health and society, and the reasons for the abolition of alcoholism. He believes that the marked improvement in the condition of the population at large will convince all that disuse of alcoholic drinks brings enormous benefits. He declares that prohibition is being better and better enforced, and strongly predicts that neither Republican nor Democratic party "will venture to put a wet plank in its platform at the coming Presidential election."

"Even the wettest of politicians," he says, "see the strong trend of public opinion toward the enforcement of all the

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laws against the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks."

Abolishing Freedom and War—by Resolution

ALL the signs of the times point to a coming religious renaissance. Indeed, the renaissance is here. With larger knowledge has come larger faith. With a new understanding of the universe have come new and greater conceptions of God, and new and sounder views of the relation of man to the universe and to God.

There have been other renaissances, and they have been always fought tooth and nail by those who identify faith with tradition. So it is to-day. Those who wish to stop the dawn attempt to do so by wringing the neck of the crowing cock. Again history repeats itself. As those ecclesiastics and their lay followers who resenting the discovery that the earth was round tried to keep it flat by their attacks on Galileo, so to-day the ecclesiastically minded try to keep the universe static by efforts to silence or expel those who reinterpret religion in terms which new knowledge supplies. These opponents of knowledge call themselves Fundamentalists. They had their predecessors in the Sanhedrin. They will have their successors in the years to come. Whenever light breaks forth, they try to shut it out.

To-day, fortunately, the Fundamentalists have not the means at their command that their predecessors of the priesthood in Jerusalem and of the Inquisition had. They can no longer burn at the stake or crucify; but they can pass resolutions.

What has been going on in the Presbyterian Church is thus a sign of the new renaissance. The Fundamentalists would not be so bitter if they were not aware of the dawn. In the General Assembly in session at Grand Rapids, Michigan, Dr. Clarence E. Macartney, the candidate of the Fundamentalists, after a bitter campaign that has been described by a friend of ours as resembling a Philadelphia ward contest, was elected Moderator, and William Jennings Bryan, former Secretary of State, the spokesman of those who have been attacking evolution, was appointed Vice-Moderator. The vote which gave the victory to the Fundamentalists was not overwhelming; it was 464 to 446; but on this slender margin Dr. Macartney bases the right of his party to expel Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the Baptist liberal, from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City.

In such a contest only those who have a professional or denominational interest in church matters can be much concerned. Nothing that the Presbyterian Church can do will alter in the least the progress of scientific study or prevent those who are thinking for themselves from continuing to do their own thinking. It is not an issue between one doctrine and another; it is the issue between shackled and unshackled thought. Perhaps freedom of the mind can be destroyed by fire and sword, but it will survive the adoption of resolutions.

And so, unfortunately, will war. No one, in America at least, loves war. In fact, all peoples hate it thoroughly in all its forms; but the intelligent man realizes that it cannot be abolished by resolutions. To pass laws against it is as futile as passing laws against headache and sore throat. War is an effect, not a cause. The Church can do much toward removing the ultimate causes that make for human discord; but only an intelligent, tolerant Church can do so, not an intolerant or merely sentimental one. The Church can do much to develop the high idealism and understanding necessary if we of the human race are to live peaceably together; but it must do so by putting not peace first, but justice. Resolutions against war, or against participation in any war for any cause whatever, not only do not prevent war, but encourage those who profit by injustice to think that they can gain their ends without incurring peril of resistance. When the Church, confronted by the choice between peace and righteousness, deliberately chooses peace, it causes thinking men more than ever to doubt its moral leadership.

Wonder is often expressed why so many in these days do not go to church. The real cause for wonder is that so many still continue to go, despite repeated affronts to their reason and their hopes. Happily, one need not judge the Church by its official action. Throughout the country it is the Church that serves, perhaps even more than ever, as the symbol of man's ability to see the invisible, as the reservoir from which men draw for power to do justly and love mercy. The dissensions within the Church are a sign that the Church itself cannot stand still, that it is moving in the direction of knowledge. Those who are struggling and protesting against the Church's advance are the unwilling witnesses to its progress.

Unifying Our Foreign Service

THE bill, passed by both branches of Congress, known as the Rogers Bill has as its object reorganization and improvement of our Foreign Service. It provides that the diplomatic and consular services shall together be known as the Foreign Service of the United States; that hereafter all permanent officers in the Foreign Service below the grade of minister, whether engaged in the diplomatic or the consular branch of the Service, shall be known as Foreign Service officers; that they may be assigned to duty in either branch of the Service at the discretion of the President; that any such officers may be appointed as secretaries in the diplomatic service or as consular officers, or both, but only with the advice and consent of the Senate; that a retirement and disability fund shall be established for the aid of any officers of this Foreign Service who may meet certain requirements; a uniform salary scale and provision for paying one officer who is acting in another's place make the Service more attractive financially than it has been.

An important provision of the Rogers Bill is that hereafter all appointments to the position of Foreign Service officer shall be made only after examination and a period of probation or, after five years' continuous service in the Department of State, by transfer from the State Department under the supervision of the President.

Another important provision is that hereafter the customary titles, Second Assistant Secretary of State and Third Assistant Secretary of State, shall both be changed to the title Assistant Secretary of State; that a new or additional Assistant Secretary of State shall be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, and that he shall take the place of the present Director of Consular Service.

All these and other minor provisions of the bill do not confuse or consolidate the duties of consular and diplomatic representatives. The first will act under the direction of their head, who, however, will now be more directly under the guidance and authority of the Secretary

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of State. The functions of diplomatic and consular officers are, of course, quite different. The diplomat represents the Government at large, and the Department of State in particular, in safeguarding the rights of his country abroad, in acting as a general means of communication between the Government to which he is accredited and his home Government, and in promoting friendly relations between the two countries; the consular officer, on the other hand, has chiefly to do with the commercial interests of his own country in the foreign country to which he is accredited and in aiding countrymen who have need of assistance, advice, or information.

There seems to be no good reason why these separate functions cannot be kept apart and carried on effectively under the proposed law. President Coolidge has recently taken an excellent step in promoting unity between the two classes of officers. As already reported in The Outlook, he has made a sensible and economic plan for co-ordination meetings between representatives of the United States Government, in every city where more than one form of agency exists, for mutual information, advice, and, in case of necessity, action. This step, together with the provision in the Rogers Bill as to the examination of candidates for the new Foreign Service and the possibility of the transference of men from the consular to the diplomatic service and the reverse, and still further the moderate provision for retirement and pension, marks an advance on the efforts which have been made in a partial fashion in the last ten years or more to recognize the need of reform.

It is true that the Civil Service principle is not extended to ministers or ambassadors; that could hardly be expected; and undoubtedly political and personal motives for appointment will still in a measure prevail; but the new law certainly encourages advancement by promotion and follows the sound basic idea of training in diplomatic and consular service before responsible offices are bestowed.

Consular service should be a permanent career, not a temporary job; it should not follow the low level of giving public spoils to petty political victors.

This bill should inure to the strength and efficiency of our Foreign Service in both its branches.

Music and Community Friendship

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

Contributing Editor of The Outlook

UNDER the title "There is Hope!" an editorial in last week's Outlook declared that the country cannot be going wholly to the dogs because seven hundred members of the Freemasons and the Knights of Columbus of Greenwich, Connecticut, recently sat down at a joint dinner in the Masonic Temple in that pleasant New England town. I am glad to report a picturesque confirmation of the reasonable optimism of this editorial.

Two weeks ago I had the pleasure of attending the graduation exercises of the Flemington Children's Choirs in the State of New Jersey, which, so far as I know, provide a unique instance of community co-operation by churches of all shades of theological faith—Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, and Presbyterian.

Some twenty-five years ago two young ladies, Miss Elizabeth Vosseler and Miss Bessie Hopewell, of the village of Flemington, who loved music and believed that it could be made not only a means of individual culture but of community development, conceived the idea of training the children of the village to sing in their respective church choirs. The work modestly begun and modestly carried on has now reached a point where it has become not only the pride of all citizens of the village but has extended its mellowing influences through its graduates to other localities. The Choir School, for that is what it is, has no buildings and no elaborate corps of instructors. Out of a loft in one of the business buildings in the village Miss Vosseler has made a charming studio, and there the children are trained daily in ecclesiastical music, both hymns and anthems. And the result is that each of the village churches has a surpliced mixed choir, and music, as it should be, is made one of the features of liturgical worship. The annual graduation exercises have become a village festival which is attended not only by the citizens but more and more by visitors from out of town.

The "graduation" is held alternately in the Presbyterian and the Baptist church, for these two edifices are the only ones in the town suited to the choral service of a large vested choir. This year the graduating class consisted of a dozen or fifteen young men and women, but the choral service was rendered by a body of about two hundred and fifty, boys and girls, men and women, who are now members of the choirs of the village churches or are alumni of the Choir School. The tenor soloist, for example, who began his studies in this village music school and sang in one of the village choirs, came on from Boston, where he now lives, especially to take part in the exercises as an alumnus. The influence of the school has been such that all the village churches have excellent organists, two of them being Associates of the American Guild of Organists.

The village of Flemington has the prosperous appearance of an old, well-established settlement. It is the county town, although it has a population of only twenty-five hundred, and the county Court House forms the center of its business activities. At one end of the long tree-shaded village street stands the Presbyterian church, built of stone; at the other end the Baptist church, built of brick.

At the exercises this year, after some organ preludes, the great surpliced choir of two hundred and fifty marched up the two aisles singing the processional, preceded by a crucifer and by two boys carrying the American flag. The Episcopal minister offered the invocation, which was concluded with Sir John Stainer's beautiful "Sevenfold Amen." Those members of the Festival choir who are alumni could be identified by their alumni hoods of a golden color, and the undergraduate members of the village choirs were identified with their respective churches (Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian) by a ribbon—red, I remember, being the color worn by the Catholic singers. The only address was made by a graduate of the Class of 1908, who is now a member of the staff of the Newark "Evening News," in his presentation of diplomas to the graduating class. Some fine anthems were sung: the little probationers, who were just entering the school, sang a "Child's Hymn," by Arthur Sullivan; prizes for special excellence were conferred; certain members of the chorus of the alumni received the degrees of "Fel-

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low" and "Master" with the investiture of the golden hood; and after the impressive recessional, composed by Mr. Norman Landis, a gifted musician who is organist of the village Presbyterian church, the Benediction was pronounced by the Baptist minister and the choir Benediction invoked by Father Mannion, of the Catholic church. Although a creed is recited during the choral service, there is nothing sectarian in the entire ritual. The creed reads as follows:

> We, the Chorus of the Alumni of the Flemington Children's Choirs, believe music to be God's gift to his children, and as ministers of song, do give ourselves to this holy office of the church. We pledge ourselves by our service, enthusiasm, and means, to aid the music of the church; to raise the standard of music in the community; to respect by perfect silence the art of music during its performance, nor to suffer disturbance from others. Therefore we do give our utmost support to this cause of good music in any community in which we may live.

It is difficult in cold type to describe the impression which this community festival makes upon the visitor who sees it and hears it for the first time. Musically speaking, it would have been noteworthy in any of the large cities of the country, and yet it was the production of a village of twenty-five hundred inhabitants. But its real significance lies in its exemplification of the community spirit working for a fine end. That the people of Flemington should think it perfectly natural for Catholic and Protestant church members to work together in this way for the upbuilding of a spirit of worship is a sign of hope at a time when in some communities there is such a display of acrimony between Catholics and Protestants, Fundamentalists and Modernists, about differences of theological opinion.

Germany Finally Conquered

By Elbert Francis Baldwin

The Outlook's Editorial Correspondent in Europe

FOR the first time since the Armistice, a German statesman has publicly acknowledged Germany's defeat in the war. *"Wir sind ein besiegtes Volk"* (we are a conquered people), declared Chancellor Marx in a recent address. Other statesmen have now followed him in similar confessions.

Thus the whole psychology changes. The German will is broken—that old obstinate will which would not acknowledge realities.

Ever since the war I have heard over and over in Germany: "We were not really beaten in the war, because we preserved our Fatherland from invasion."

"But what do these British and Belgian and French troops in the Rhineland mean, then?" I would ask.

And then this answer: "They are here because we were *temporarily* checked on foreign soil, and because our troops could not stand the Socialist-Communist backfire in Berlin."

From this amazing attitude it is a relief to turn to the Chancellor's honesty in admitting the truth without any qualifications.

The Treaty

IF the sight of foreign troops at Mayence and Coblenz and Cologne could not convince the Germans that they had lost the war, neither did the first years of their duty in executing the clauses of the Versailles Treaty, especially the clauses relating to the delivery of war culprits, to disarmament, and to reparations.

The requirements concerning reparations should sow no seeds of a new war, for no war indemnity at all is demanded from Germany, only reparations for the regions she devastated. Yet, so far, the money promised by Germany to France for these purposes has, in Germany's default, been loaned by the French people, despite their burdensome Budget.

For two years after the signing of the Treaty the French had to submit to one disillusion after another concerning the exact amount to be obtained from Germany—that amount regrettably not having been fixed in the Treaty and a definite settlement having been delayed far too long. Finally, on May 5, 1921, international experts at London placed Germany's total war debt at 132,000,000,000 gold marks (about $33,000,000,000). From this sum, 82,000,000,000 gold marks were subtracted, and at present do not enter into the calculation. The remaining 50,000,000,000 gold marks were to be paid at the rate of two billion a year, plus twenty-six per cent of the value of German exports for the year. As France lost most in the war, the Allies awarded her fifty-two per cent of the German reparations. Of the 50,000,000,000 gold marks this would mean 26,000,000,000 gold marks. The French have held to this total as the "last word."

The German Government

THE Germans, having signed the Versailles and London documents, gradually took the position that neither were valid—because, forsooth, as they claimed, signed under duress. In addition, they were, the Germans urged, unreasonable, hence impossible; and, being "impossible," the Germans then tried to think of them as non-existent. Anyway, they were not going to execute them.

Their resistance to the Treaty began at Scapa Flow, where they had sunk their fleet.

Resistance continued with their Government's refusal to deliver the war culprits, with its delay in reducing military effectives, with the license permitted to illicit enrollments, with the secret growth of armaments. But the Government's resistance was most marked in not meeting the full coal and wood requirements and in delaying money payments.

This was not all. Apparently, the Government did not even seek the means of payment. It did not put its finances in order. It by no means summoned the rich to do their plain duty. It did not take the trouble to create a special reparations fund, fed by a special income. It established no strict export control. Without trying to do anything, without even proclaiming its *desire* to do something, the German Government simply contented itself with saying that it was in no condition to fulfill its promises.

At the same time it increased some great public works; it enlarged its postal and railway personnel; above all, it inflated its currency. It would precipitate bankruptcy, so that its creditors could obtain nothing from it!

The German Magnate

IN 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War, one and the same impulse moved the defeated French to bring their resources to the Treasury, so as to free

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their country from German occupation and pay the war debt.

On the other hand (there being no French occupation of Germany), instead of bringing to Berlin all *they* could, the German magnates converted most of their bonds and stocks and goods and balances into foreign currencies, and with these opened accounts abroad. The large number of German banks outside Germany (fifteen in Amsterdam alone) facilitated the affair. The billions of gold marks thus sent abroad were not used to help Germany.

These magnates are mostly the Junker agriculturists of the east, the landlords of the center, but especially the great industrialists of the west. The Berlin Government is unworthily dependent on them; it has been their tool. Usurping unlawful power, they artificially impoverished the Government and proportionately enriched themselves.

Every time the mark fell the fortunes of these magnates rose; for they were able to pay wages, other money contracts, and mortgages in a continually depreciating currency. The Junkers paid off the mortgages on their farm buildings, the landlords on their apartment-houses, and the industrialists on their factories in money whose depreciation long since ruined the mortgage-holders. The magnates thus enriched themselves, not only as the Government grew proportionately poorer, but also as the other ninety-five-hundredths of the people did. The worst enemies of Germany are some Germans.

They killed the projects of a forced loan, of death duties, of a proper income tax. They eluded paying existing taxes, particularly the coal tax (it should have been the most productive of all). Finally, a discouraged and subservient Government made no real attempt to collect revenue. Had it done so, it might not have needed to say that it could no longer make further payments for the armies of occupation. It is now face to face with the tax problem, grimmer than ever—that is to say, whether the Germans with "slathers" of money will pay the high taxes incumbent on them and absolutely necessary, as the International Experts Committee points out, if Germany expects to come to a proper debt settlement.

Like Jeshurun, having waxed fat, the German thieves began to kick. They declared that the Allies could do nothing without Germany's free consent and cooperation, consequently the Allies must treat her as an equal. In other words, the conquered in war should be the judge of the treatment imposed by the conqueror!

In 1871 did the French demand that kind of thing? Yet the Treaty of Frankfort was certainly not more agreeable to them than is now the Treaty of Versailles to Germany. None the less, the French executed all the clauses of the Frankfort Treaty.

No one expected that the German Government would execute all of the Versailles Treaty clauses with enthusiasm. But the world did hope that the German Government would not go back on its word as to money payments. When the French could not get money, they tried to develop a system of payments in kind. But these did not succeed either.

France to the Fore

FINALLY, after four years of fiddling, France resolved to show the mailed fist. The immediate business in hand was to make a recalcitrant debtor furnish at least a part of the sum due. But for this resolve and its execution, the recent work of the International Experts Committee would have been infinitely more difficult, as its members have acknowledged.

France had decided to seize the Ruhr region as a productive pledge for the payment of reparations. Doubtless the thought of her own frontier security was also not absent from her mind. But chief of all was her determination ultimately to break that obstinate old German will—to conquer Germany.

To French gratification, Belgium joined the movement, and on January 11, 1923, the two Allies entered the Ruhr Valley. (Note that this was done in face of English counsels to the effect that you cannot better a country's paying capacity by taking from it the means of production.)

The Germans seemed in despair. But they were not, quite. If, they thought, the half-million Ruhr workmen should go on strike and stay on strike, the French and Belgians would have to retire. The Berlin Government, therefore, spent an incredible amount to support these workers and their families.

During 1923, little by little, the workmen came back to their work, now really for French and Belgian, and no longer for German, employers. Towards the close of the year there was a rush in the Allied direction.

Passive resistance was then at an end. The French had gained their point. The Germans had lost theirs.

This was followed by positive results. In November the Interallied Mission of Control of Factories and Mines, familiarly known as the "Micum" (Mission Interalliée de Contrôle des Usines et des Mines) signed agreements lasting till April 15, 1924, with the German industrialists. These agreements have now been renewed to June 15. Among other things, provisions are made for:

(1) Payment of coal-tax arrears to the extent of $15,000,000.

(2) A tax of 37 cents a ton on all coal sold.

(3) Reparation deliveries not to exceed thirty-five per cent of the total deliveries.

(4) Assured delivery of coal to the Franco-Belgian Railway control.

(5) Every concern agreeing to deliver coal and iron in adequate quantities.

Thus the French are compelling the Ruhr industries to pay taxes, make deliveries for the reparations account, and protect the occupation enterprises. Germany is finally conquered.

On the German side there is the greater willingness to submit to the heavy charges on the mines because of the International Experts Committee's suggestion of a $200,000,000 loan and the conviction that the Franco-Belgian economic control will end when the Experts' control begins. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Franco-Belgian military control will end before debts are paid.

Of all the Allies, only France and Belgium have consistently followed a severe programme designed to maintain the Treaty's integrity.

The aims of these two Allies in the Ruhr have been, first,

To make their rights respected; and, second,

To establish peace.

In other words, justice first, then peace.

The main thing achieved by their Ruhr occupation has been the breaking of the German will.

Again, by that occupation there has come some guaranty of security to France and Belgium.

Finally, the commercial agreements, now renewed, form a vital step towards reparation payments.

These three things may have been accomplished primarily for the benefit of France and Belgium. But the benefit does not stop there; it goes on to England and Italy, despite the hanging back of those Powers. France and Belgium have indeed worked for all the doubting world as well as for themselves.

Perhaps that world is now beginning to appreciate that the way to establish justice is not to sacrifice it.

Perhaps the world is also beginning to appreciate that there can be no peace without justice.

Berlin, April 19, 1924.

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Pittsburgh is Famous for Other Things than Steel

A notable Picture from the International Exhibition of Paintings at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Madame Suggia, by Augustus E. John, of London, England
Awarded the First Prize of $1,500

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Platforms of the People

A Republican Platform Based on the Will of Republican Voters

FOR the first time, so far as we know, voters in all sections of the country have made known their will concerning party policies. Heretofore party platforms have been made by the politicians. As a consequence platforms have been drafted, not with a view to the wish of the majority of the party voters, but with the purpose mainly of attracting organized minorities and groups with special interests. This year, however, a test has been made of Nation-wide opinion on the chief issues of the Presidential campaign. By means of The Outlook's ballot on the Platforms of the People voters of the Republican, Democratic, and other parties, and of no party at all, have been able to make known what they want from their public servants.

This week, on the eve of the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, The Outlook presents a platform of the Republican voters which it has drafted as based wholly on the ballots and letters sent in to The Outlook poll from all sections of the country by Republicans.

Does the Republican party organization, do the Republican party leaders, really represent the will of the party voters? Each reader can answer for himself by comparing in substance the planks here outlined with those which will be adopted at Cleveland.

A Republican Voters' Platform

THE Republican party consists, not of its politicians or its managers, but of its voters. Its first duty, therefore, is to see that those who carry on the business of the party do not disregard the voters' will, and that those who do represent the conscience and the purpose of the voters are rewarded with support. We, Republican voters, wish therefore at the outset to discriminate between those of our leaders who have our approval and those who have not. We here announce our confidence in the sanity, integrity, and trustworthiness of Calvin Coolidge. At a time when faith in public men, and even in representative institutions, has been somewhat shaken, it has been reassuring to have in the White House one on whom the country can and does depend. We resent the attacks made upon him by political opponents and the failure of the members of his own party in Congress to give him support. We are out of patience with Congress, and hold Republican Senators and Representatives accountable for dissensions which have made the party incapable of meeting its responsibilities and unresponsive to the leadership of the President.

Economy and Self-Reliance

FOREMOST among the duties which rest upon the party is that of reducing the burdens of government which now rest upon the people and restoring to the people American habits of self-reliance. We are proud of the fact that a Republican administrator, Secretary Mellon, has both responded to public opinion and led it by his proposal of a scientific plan for tax reduction. That plan should have been made a law. It would have reduced the cost of living and released a large amount of wealth for productive enterprise. We reject as demagogic the arguments of Democrats that the plan was discriminatory against the poor, and we repudiate the action of those Republicans who helped to frustrate the enactment of the Mellon plan into law. We believe that dependence upon Government for aid to business or for relief to the incompetent is enervating and that productive enterprise is most competently conducted when intrusted to private hands under adequate regulation.

Regulation of Aliens

TO preserve and when necessary restore the American spirit of self-reliance it is necessary to preserve the unity of the American people. We therefore approve the action of Congress under the Republican Administration in the further restriction of immigration. We do not regard the quota method as indispensable, but we approve of the way in which it has been applied. For the sake of prospective immigrants as well as for the sake of the country, we believe that all possible examination of prospective immigrants should take place at ports of departure. For the protection of immigrants in this country as well as for the control of alien influences we strongly advocate the registration of all aliens. We believe that in carrying out this immigration policy the Republican party deserves credit for disregarding the appeals of alien blocs which have not been made in the interest of the country.

Conservation

EXPERIENCE has proved the wisdom of the conservation policy which was instituted by a Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, and the evil consequences which have followed every departure from it. Errors of judgment and isolated instances of dishonesty, irrespective of party, should not befog the issue. Hearsay charges and accusations unsupported by evidence have not dissuaded us that the Republican party has been more effective in guarding the public property than the Democratic party has. We demand that those who have been found guilty of attempts to defraud the people should be punished and that defects in our conservation laws should be remedied. We believe that Federal control over public properties should be extended. The development of superpower calls for careful consideration with a view to the control by the Federal Government over the distribution of high-power transmission between the States.

General Defense

ONE of the primary functions of government is the general defense. To that end we demand that Congress shall provide for the expansion of the Navy up to the standard set by the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. We are proud of the fact that a Republican Administration called that Conference and put into effect its plan for the stopping of naval competition between the leading naval Powers of the world, and we believe it is the duty of the Republican party to see that that standard is observed. As a result of that conference the cost of preparedness to the taxpayers has been reduced and at the same time the naval position of America among the Powers has remained as it was. It is the duty of the Republican party to maintain the Navy at the full strength warranted by the Treaty. We believe also in the further development of the Air Mail Service not only as an important contribution to our systems of communication but as an assurance to the country of a capable and yet inexpensive reserve strength in an emergency.

Government Efficiency

WE indorse the recommendations made by the late President Harding and repeated by President Coolidge for the elimination of waste in the Executive Departments of the Government. These recommendations should have been followed immediately by Congress and must now be carried out as quickly

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as necessary legislation can be enacted. In order to remedy the deplorable conditions which existed during the post-war period when the Democratic party retained emergency bureaus and commissions, it is necessary in the reconstruction of the Executive Departments to provide measures against the development of bureaucratic authority with its inevitable effect of undermining the self-reliance of the people and of the States.

Prohibition

EFFORTS to inject prohibition into politics should be resisted. There is no politics in the enforcement of law. The Prohibition Law is a part of our Constitution, and as such should be rigidly enforced. We demand of our public servants that they place the enforcement of prohibition under Civil Service regulations. The enforcement of the law should not be a matter of party reward and should be freed from all temptation of political favoritism or corruption. We recognize the fact that public opinion will not approve under present conditions any change in the limitation upon alcoholic content as set by Federal statute.

General Welfare

CONGRESS should by Constitutional amendment be given power which it now lacks to prevent the exploitation of children in industry. It now possesses, we believe, and should exercise, the power to hold accountable public officers and communities who fail to show diligence in preventing lynching. We approve of measures providing for equal social, legal, and industrial rights for women in so far as they do not sacrifice the special protection of the law to which women engaged in the repetitive tasks of industry are entitled.

Transportation

AS a part of the general policy of restoring the spirit of self-reliance we believe in reducing as far as is consistent with adequate regulation the interference of the Government with the management of the railways. We recognize that the past effort to enforce competition between railways has failed, and we approve measures to provide for the voluntary consolidation of railways into systems for the purpose of economy and efficiency. We do not believe it is necessary to make such consolidation compulsory. We oppose any attempt to reduce freight rates by statute, but would leave the control of railway rates in the hands of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, where it belongs. The Transportation Act of 1920, known as the Esch-Cummins Act, should be retained, with such modifications as experience may show to be desirable. We are emphatically opposed to any measure at this time looking to the nationalization of railways.

Merchant Marine

AS in the case of the railways, the merchant marine should be owned and managed by private enterprise. Therefore the ships now owned by the Government should as rapidly as practicable be disposed of to private owners. Inasmuch, however, as the conditions created by the war have not yet been adjusted and as the manufacturers and farmers of this country cannot rely upon foreign corporations to deliver American goods with the same interest in their disposal as goods of their own countries, we recognize that the people as a whole have such interest in the maintenance of the merchant marine as to warrant the expenditure of public money on its behalf. We therefore approve of such a measure as that recommended by President Harding to insure the profitable operation of ships under the American flag, with a special view for their use as auxiliary to the Navy.

Agricultural Relief

PRESENT conditions have placed the farmers in a position of peculiar disadvantage in comparison with the rest of the country. What we call upon the Government to do is, not to aid the incompetent, but to equalize burdens that rest now too heavily upon agricultural communities. Most of the difficulties which farmers face cannot be removed by political methods. We are therefore opposed to the Federal purchase of wheat or the price-fixing of staple farm products, but we approve of the encouragement of Farmers' Co-operatives and the further extension of farm credits; and we urge the development of the St. Lawrence waterways as a means of reducing the cost of transporting farm products to market and transporting farm machinery and other goods to the farmer.

Bonus

WE recognize the duty of the Government to care for the disabled veterans and demand that the incompetence and waste in the administration of the Veterans' Bureau be eliminated; but we regard any form of bonus to able-bodied veterans as injurious to the veterans and to the country alike, and we condemn both Democratic and Republican Senators and Representatives who disregarded President Coolidge's expression of the country's will in this matter and passed the Bonus Bill over his veto.

The Tariff

WE do not regard the tariff as a partisan question. We believe the present Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law is a serviceable frame for future tariff arrangements. We believe the provision in that law enacted by the Republican majority for permitting the President to adjust tariff schedules on expert advice is that law's most desirable feature, and we believe that the law should be administered with a view to the reduction of tariff rates.

Labor

WE believe that the Government should not interfere in labor disputes except where the public interest is jeopardized. We approve the continuance of the Railroad Labor Board as a means for minimizing the chance for interruption in National transportation. Though we recognize the abuses to which injunctions are subject, we do not favor the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes. As in the case of railways, we oppose the nationalization of coal mines. The experience of the country during war time, when the Democratic Administration attempted to nationalize industries, was sufficient to show the deleterious effects of Government operation, particularly in a democracy. Such agencies as are necessary for the protection of crime and disorder should be under public control. We believe, therefore, that no private detective agency should have a legal right to operate without a Federal license.

Currency

WE oppose all efforts to debase our currency and will resist efforts to make experiments with currency standards.

Ku Klux Klan

WHILE we approve of all efforts to prevent domination by religious, racial, or alien groups, we deplore anything done to that end which is in violation of the law or is based on intimidation or cultivates prejudice; and we regard as of prime importance the maintenance of the Constitution of the United States with its guaranties of civil, political, and religious liberty.

Education

WHILE we deplore any tendency toward the extension of bureaucratic power or the loss of self-reliance by the States in the maintenance of local self-government, we recognize the National aspects of education in the interest

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of American citizenship, and we approve the extension of the principle of Federal aid for education.

Foreign Policies

UNDER the Republican Administration, the Washington Conference removed the danger of war from the Pacific by the negotiations of the Four-Power Treaty and brought to an end the peril that existed in the form of competition among the nations for naval supremacy. We believe that the principle of the Four-Power Treaty is a sound one for the development of peaceful international relations. Time has justified the opposition to the League as originally formulated. We recognize the usefulness of certain services that the League of Nations has rendered, but we believe that the decision of this country not to join the League will remain unaltered. We heartily indorse the idea of a world court, the details of which can be perfected only after the mature deliberation of competent experts, and we believe that the United States should participate fully in that court under reservations such as those outlined by the late President Harding, President Coolidge, and by Secretary Hughes. We heartily approve the continuance of the Hague Tribunal for arbitration. We approve of the Administration's policy in refusing to recognize Russia until that country is governed by its people and a policy is formulated which will guarantee the reciprocal rights recognized by all civilized nations. We believe in strengthening the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. We feel that the representatives of the party elected to office should have authority to judge the issues involved in the question of supplying arms to foreign governments and in co-operation with foreign commissions. We are not unmindful of the obligations which we owe to other nations, but we believe that it is in the interest of international good faith that the debts incurred during the war should not be canceled. The funding of the British debt was an achievement which brought credit upon both countries and should serve as an example for other cases. The American people are not lacking in generosity, as their contributions for the needs of other nations have proved; but it is entirely consistent with generosity to require the fulfillment of international agreements.

In a later issue we shall present a corresponding Democratic Platform

The Klan Shows Its Hand in Indiana

Special Correspondence from Indianapolis

By STANLEY FROST

THE Ku Klux Klan has destroyed party lines in Indiana so far as the voters are concerned. Reports from all over the State show that the old parties are forgotten and only the shells of the machines remain. The Klan is the issue, the one thing that will have any important effect in deciding votes."

This was the estimate given me by one of the most honored and experienced of Indiana politicians as to the effect of the Klan's sweeping victory in the recent Republican primaries. Since we have been watching so long to see the old parties break up, this is likely to seem the most important result of that victory, though it is by no means completely accomplished. The old shells are still valuable political assets and already show signs of returning life. And a great effort is being made to suppress the Klan issue. Nevertheless Indiana is to-day nearer political realignment than any State has been since 1858.

There are, however, other results almost as important. The Klan for the first time has emerged as an open political power in a Northern State. The Klan issue has been forced to the front, in spite of great efforts to keep it quiet, and the Indiana situation may give it a first place in the National campaign. The power and possible menace of the Klan in politics were both demonstrated. Finally, the difficulties and dangers which face the Klan itself in the very moment of its victory were made so clear that, since the primaries, Klan leaders in Indiana have spent fully as much time and effort in trying to forestall those dangers as in gathering the fruits of success or preparing for the future.

In short, the Indiana campaign has definitely brought the Klan into Northern and National politics, and has given a demonstration of its methods, its power, and its dangers both to others and to itself. Indiana has been a laboratory. "It is the best State in the Union for trying out a new political idea," one of the Klan leaders told me. "If we can get away with it here, we're all set to go."

Flabbergasted Politicians

THE Klan victory was as unexpected as it was complete. Six months ago every sane politician avoided Klan support as being deadly and damning. Before he had the Klan indorsement Edward Jackson, for whom it won the nomination for Governor, was not believed to have a chance. The Klan campaign was waged with very small funds. The success, in view of all these adverse influences, is little less than a political miracle.

It has had about the same effect on the politicians that armed rebellion by the Friends would produce. They have lost touch, are in a panic, flabbergasted. They have not yet found out exactly what happened to them, or how, or why, or what it all means. "The situation is the most vague, elusive, and puzzling that I have ever seen or heard of," one man of nearly thirty years' political experience told me. Politicians of less culture express their feelings in language that would make a mule blush. The only people who are at all happy or sure of themselves are the Klan leaders. They know what they want and how they expect to get it, but they do not advertise either thing. It is significant that not one of the scores of men in both parties and the Klan with whom I talked was willing to be quoted by name on anything at all.

To any except those who know the secrets of the Klan the situation is even yet far from clear, though it is clearing. The possibilities it contains are quite impossible to estimate. But the broader outlines of the campaign that is closed and the main factors in the campaign to come can be seen. Before taking them up, however, a brief outline is necessary of the situation in which the recent drama was enacted.

The Stage Setting for the Klan Drama

THE Indiana Klan is one of the most powerful in the country; it ranks behind only Texas and Ohio, and has an advertised membership of half a million and an active membership of perhaps half that. It is made up largely of people of substantial and decent standing, most of them active members of Protestant churches, fairly well educated, with definite if somewhat narrow ideals. It in-

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clines to youth, it is aflame with enthusiasm. It has never been accused of violence, and in a recent riot which I happened to see at South Bend the aggression was entirely from the other side. That bloodshed was prevented was due to the strenuous efforts of Klan leaders.

Quite naturally, both because of these facts and because in Indiana politics is played more persistently and intensely than anywhere else, the Klan sought an outlet for its energies in that field. Its membership is divided, but with the majority Republican. A large proportion had been Bull Moosers, some have leanings toward La Folletteism. Besides this, its natural field is in the Republican party, since almost ninety per cent of the Catholics are Democrats, making control of that party much more difficult.

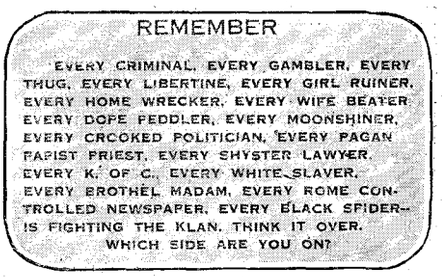
The political situation was favorable to the entry of a new power. The Democratic machine is in the hands of Taggart, growing old and perhaps a trifle unsteady. The Republican machine was led by Senator Watson, but he is hardly friendly with ex-Governor James Goodrich, a leader of great skill, who is rather more feared than trusted, but is likely to control the sources of financial supply, no matter who controls the machine. Neither is Watson on good terms with ex-Senator Beveridge, to whose defeat two years ago Watson contributed more or less, and who is always powerful in spite of the fact that he has withdrawn from politics and devoted himself to authorship. In this confused situation any solid and cohesive body had great opportunities.

The Republican organization had been further weakened by the conviction of crime and removal from office of Governor McCray. The effect of this was less than might have been expected, however, as there was a general tendency to regard his case as personal rather than political, and there was little mention of it. It was nevertheless a weakness, and will have an effect this fall.

Enter the Klan, Right Center

In this situation the Klan very naturally elected to make its main drive for power through the Republican party. It gave its support to Jackson, now Secretary of State. It is denied that he was a Klansman. But it did not neglect the Democratic party, and had its candidates in those primaries also. This is in line with the usual policy of the Klan, which aims so far as possible to remain invisible, working inside both parties, but concentrating in each race on the party or candidates which seem to be most able and willing to give it what it wants. Thus in general it follows the tactics of the Anti-Saloon League, with the difference that, while the League operates openly, the Klan prefers to keep its hand covered, and to veil both its actions and its power with as much secrecy as possible.

This policy was followed in the early stages of the Indiana campaign, but was presently upset by D. C. Stephenson, then Klan leader of the State. He is a man of powerful personality and great magnetism, very energetic, and had been largely responsible for the Klan's rapid growth there. A large part of the Klan looked up to him with an almost fanatical devotion, and his influence in other States and in the Imperial Klan was great. In fact, it led him into delusions of grandeur, and he began an attempt to undermine Dr. H. C. Evans, the Imperial Wizard.


REMEMBER
EVERY CRIMINAL, EVERY GAMBLER, EVERY THUG, EVERY LIBERTINE, EVERY GIRL RUINER, EVERY HOME WRECKER, EVERY WIFE BEATER, EVERY DOPE PEDDLER, EVERY MOONSHINER, EVERY CROOKED POLITICIAN, EVERY PAGAN PAPIST PRIEST, EVERY SHYSTER LAWYER, EVERY K. OF C., EVERY WHITE SLAVER, EVERY BROTHEL MADAM, EVERY ROME CONTROLLED NEWSPAPER, EVERY BLACK SPIDER—IS FIGHTING THE KLAN. THINK IT OVER. WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

One of the cards distributed during the heat of the campaign in Indiana, through which the Ku Klux Klan gained control of the Hoosier State

It was partly in pursuit of this ambition and partly because of his naturally flamboyant disposition that he sent out letters calling on the Klan to support Jackson. Of course some of these letters became public. Jackson's opponents instantly fastened the Klan label on him, and the Klan was forced to accept an open issue or suffer a serious loss of prestige with its own followers. Lew Shank, the spectacular Mayor of Indianapolis, who was also candidate for Governor, made his run on an anti-Klan platform, and this helped to draw the lines tighter. The leaders of the Republican organization, afraid either to support or to offend the Klan, maintained a careful neutrality in public, but secretly worked against Jackson.

As has been said, few people at that time—last October—believed there was any chance for the Klan to win. Jackson was not an overly strong man; the enemies of the Klan were many and active, the Klan itself was torn by the struggle between Stephenson and the Imperial Palace, there was grave doubt whether it could deliver its strength, and there was little money. Yet the Klan dared not lose.

To handle this very difficult task Dr. Evans put in charge Walter Bossert, then head of the Propagation Department, who is generally conceded to be the most skillful politician in the Klan. Stephenson was reduced to the ranks, where he devoted himself to his fight against Evans and Bossert. It is to Bossert that almost the entire credit for the Klan victory is given, both by his friends and enemies, and, since a good deal is likely to be heard of him in the future, he is worth a brief sketch.

The Leading Actor

Bossert is now about forty, tall and heavy without being fat, showing almost unimpaired the physique which twenty years ago made him fullback and pitcher for the University of Indiana. He has a calm, clean-cut face, a shock of black hair touched with gray, piercing black eyes, and a manner that, while slow to kindle, strikes fire often and has a remarkable charm when once aroused. He is somewhat after the pattern of Boise Penrose, but distinctly finer and with the marks of both culture and idealism. He is a graduate of the Law Department of the University of Indiana and has practiced, though not much. He spends his time by preference on his farm near Liberty, Indiana, where he raises police dogs and Belgian chickens.

He is a seasoned political strategist, trained by "Slick Jim" Goodrich and Will Hays, and has been a trusted organizer for the Republican National Committee. He has no delusions about politics, and plays the game skillfully, on a hard-pan basis, and according to the accepted standards. Yet he is an idealist, a reformer, in politics for an idea, and now in the Klan for the same idea. From his boyhood up he had been controlled by the desire to make the public schools give to all children real training for liberty and democracy; this includes an attack on parochial schools. It is typical of the rather inconsistent combination of idealism and adaptation of means to end which characterizes him—and to a large extent the whole Klan leadership—that he deliberately went into training as a practical politician as the best way to achieve his reform.

When he took over the Indiana campaign, Bossert staked his success almost entirely on intensive organization. Though he was cramped for funds, he did have the Klan to work through, and in this one thing Stephenson was not opposing him. His method was education through organization, by an endless chain system. He called together small groups of men, filled them with the issue he had picked, and sent them out to evangelize other men. His issue was the Klan—the need of it, what it could accomplish, its ideals, its opportunities, and, above all, the fact that it simply

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(C) Milton Elrod

Walter F. Bossert, of Indianapolis, Indiana

must win that campaign. Jackson in his own campaign took care of the other issues. He did not mention the Klan, but talked about good government and the need of new blood in the party. Bossert himself says that the only thing that made success possible was that he began work months before the primaries, instead of waiting till the last few weeks, as is customary.

The Spotlight on the Klan

At any rate, on the eve of the primaries, politicians estimated that Jackson would be the leading candidate, but that he would not have a majority. This meant that the actual nomination would be made in the State Convention —where the machine would control and Jackson would be beaten. It became Bossert's job to make sure that Jackson had a majority over all other Republican candidates. No one thought he could.

It was the fact that he did that stunned the politicians. When the count was made, it was found that Jackson had 227,785 of the 413,333 Republican votes, a clear majority of 42,348 and a plurality over Lew Shank, anti-Klan and his nearest opponent, of 132,291. Bossert had beaten the organization, the anti-Klan sentiment, and the other candidates. He seemed in a position to become boss of the Republican party in the name of the Klan. He was generally expected to do so.

But the victory had been dearly bought. The Klan was out in the open, a fair target for all its enemies, who are legion. Stephenson again added to the difficulties by a public statement that the Klan was out to elect Jackson by 300,000, although the Democrats had not yet made their nomination. This was followed by an anti-Klan statement from Dr. C. B. McCulloch, the leading Democratic candidate, which was indorsed by Taggart, the Democratic organization leader. Finally, it was found that in nearly half the counties the anti-Klan forces had controlled the Democratic primaries, nominating Catholics for local offices. The issue had been sharply drawn.

The Klan could not afford to have it so drawn. There was grave doubt whether Jackson could win, even in Indiana and in spite of his big primary vote, on a straight Klan issue, or even with an obvious Klan label. There are 15,000 Negro votes which politicians figured would probably be lost to the party, the 15,000 or 20,000 Catholics who are normally Republican, and a considerable anti-Klan vote which is also usually Republican but might easily desert if the issue was forced. Finally, the machine was lukewarm, if not hostile, and Stephenson's attacks on Bossert and Goodrich had closed the sources from which Republican campaign funds usually come. The normal cost of an Indiana State campaign is around $300,000, and the chances of raising that inside the Klan were small.

Worst of all, the Democratic Klansmen could not be depended upon. Thousands of them had voted in the Republican primaries to put Jackson over, but might desert him in November. Thousands of Catholics and other anti-Klan Democrats, also, had voted for Shank, and their return to their own party would be a further deduction from the apparent Republican strength. Finally, Stephenson's blunder had given the Democrats a weapon which might draw off every Democratic Klansman.

The Clash in the Klan

"You'll notice that the Klan came out for Jackson even before we had nominated our man," a Democratic politician told me. "That proves that it was not waiting to decide between candidates and that it is simply a Republican outfit, first, last, and all the time. It claims to be non-partisan, but has really merely betrayed its followers into the Republican ranks. When the Democratic Klansmen find that out—as they will—how many of them will stand for it?"

So Bossert's problem, if he was to win with Jackson in the fall, was worse than before. He had, in the first place, to escape the straight Klan issue; if he could remove the Klan label from the Republican party, all the normal Republican strength would be held and the added weight of secret Klan support would insure victory. He had, too, to win the help of the regular organization and to open the sources of revenue. And, since Stephenson was responsible for the blunders and was upsetting the whole Klan by his rebellion, he had to make the Indiana Klansmen repudiate their idol.

The latter problem was left to Dr. Evans himself. The Wizard came to

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Indianapolis with a strong staff, fought the Stephenson forces on the floor of a State Klerero and routed him utterly. Stephenson, who a few weeks ago was boasting that he would take the whole State with him away from Evans and divide other States, was thrown out of the Klan. He is now threatening to organize a rival order, but previous attempts along that line have been dismal failures.

Close Harmony Behind the Scenes

BOSSERT handled the politics, with some aid from the Wizard. He began making bargains. One was with Goodrich, but nothing has yet happened to show how successful that was, nor what its terms are. He went to Washington and saw Watson, and some of the results of that arrangement are already visible. He saw many State leaders. Finally, he was made Grand Dragon by the Klerero and confirmed by the Imperial Wizard, thus getting full authority over the Indiana Klan forces.

The result of all this was that Watson came out strongly for Jackson. When the county and district committees met, the old officers were re-elected—the Watson men. Watson was boomed for Vice-President. The State Convention nominated a list of officers who are not known to be either Klansmen or under Klan control—one may suspect that they have been OK'd by Bossert, but cannot prove it.

So in two weeks Bossert has won harmony with the State machine, the beginnings of harmony inside the Klan, with the probability that before the real campaign begins the internal troubles will have been entirely ironed out. Far more important, he has taken the Klan label off the Republican party; no one can prove that it is in any respect under Klan control; no one can make it accept the Klan as an issue. The Klan—whatever its power—has once more become invisible in Indiana politics. This is an even greater triumph than was Jackson's majority.

It also is deep political wisdom, for there is no question that his failure to take over the Republican machine was a voluntary renunciation, that he could have done it with the utmost ease. There are many now who boast that the Klan has been beaten—it is noteworthy that the Klan is quite willing to admit it—but no one thought it could be beaten till the committees voted. There would be no mystery about what happened if people could realize, as no machine politician can, how an organization like the Klan may not wish to show how much power it really has.

I cannot prove it, but I believe it will be found in time that Bossert, as head of the Indiana Klan, is also actually Republican boss, with almost absolute power. An invisible boss.

How far his maneuver will be successful in the fall campaign it is impossible to say. The Democrats make no secret of their intention to make Jackson, at least, wear a Klan label. They are counting heavily on the Stephenson statement, already mentioned, and hope to split the Klan with it. If they can do this, they ought to win in November; it seems at this distant date about their only hope.

Ralston's Rôle

THE one other chance is that Ralston, an Indiana man, may get the Democratic nomination for President and that State pride would give him the State and carry the State ticket along with him. But the Klan victory in the primaries here makes it even less likely than before that he will be nominated. Although Indiana is a State that knows how to split its tickets, many Democrats doubt that he could carry it in the face of local complications, and the Democratic National Convention certainly will not nominate a man from a State which it believes is already lost beyond hope.

Moreover, and this is even more serious, with the Klan irrevocably committed to a Republican State victory in Indiana, it can hardly afford to risk losing through having Ralston nominated. The National Klan will have to support the State Klan in this, and so will probably fight Ralston. Since much of his support has been from the Klan, he will thus lose a large part of the strength he might have had. So the Ralston boom was badly deflated at those same primaries, and only some unusual combination of political expediencies can revive it.

The Moral of the Play

THERE are two important lessons that can be drawn from the Indiana demonstration; lessons that are doubly important since the Klan will bid for control in at least twenty-one States this fall, will have a powerful influence in the Democratic National Convention (the Republican Convention offers fewer opportunities for activity), may be itself an issue in the campaign, and will certainly take an important and probably a dominant part in that campaign.

The first lesson is the immense power of the Klan when it goes into politics. In Indiana it has shown better leadership, greater stability, more power to take care of internal quarrels, and a stronger unity than had been expected by any but its own leaders—far above the average of political organizations. It plays politics with a crusading spirit which is willing to make greater sacrifices and work harder than any organization has done in recent times. Its evangelistic enthusiasm wins many converts who are not members, so that it casts considerably more than its own vote. It also makes its members desert their usual party affiliations, split tickets, and put the Klan ahead of any other consideration to an extent never before known in American politics. Its organization is not only permanent but self-sustaining, so that it has no need of spoils and the quarrels they bring. I am convinced that it is—while it lasts—the most effective political organization the country has ever seen, not excepting Tammany.

The second lesson is that the Klan is in danger of defeat whenever it comes into the open, and of disruption whenever it becomes tied to any party. Its power lies in invisibility and impartiality. It may secretly indorse issues or men, but never parties and seldom openly. When it becomes identified with any party, it will surely lose much of its membership, it will lose the power of controlling either party through balance of power and implied threats, it will become merely an adjunct, like Tammany, of the party which it has captured. It will have to take what it can get. Moreover, it will be divided Nationally, since in some States it must work through one party, and in some through the other. And when it comes into the open it gives its enemies a chance to unite against it, and there are few States where it can win.

The Final Act to Come

ALL this means that in the coming campaign the Klan has staked its life, not merely on victory, but on skillful manipulation and on its ability to hold the confidence of its members through thick and thin. If it is to win what it hopes this fall, it must give National support to one of the big parties, and must give local support here to one, there to the other. It must often switch back and forth half a dozen times between candidates for the Presidency, the Senate, the House, Governor, legislators, county officers, and city or town officials. It must induce its members to forget their old party loyalties utterly and to split their tickets in a way that no politician has ever thought even remotely possible. And it must do all this in secret, and without weakening the faith of its members.

There are troubled days and nights ahead for the Klan leaders. Also for the regular politicians. But it will give us an interesting campaign.

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The Building of a Crew

By JAMES A. TEN EYCK

More reminiscences of the veteran coach at Syracuse University

LET me say at the outset that this article is in no way to be considered a technical treatise on method, nor is it calculated to furnish instruction in rowing. I simply want to record the musings of a college crew coach, just as they happen to occur to me.

One of the hardest things for a coach to accomplish is to teach racing sense to boys whose major tendency is to get ahead regardless of the cost. Jockeys are paid big money for knowing how to rate a horse. The oarsman must know how to rate himself, so that he can last the journey and be "rowed out" only when the finish line is crossed.

And right now would be a good time for me to say a word on a subject much discussed in recent years—that of cutting down the long-standing four-mile race, as rowed at New London between Harvard and Yale for more than one generation, to three miles; the lopping off of that "last deadly mile." My father and his twin brother used to row from Peekskill to Newburgh, a distance of twenty miles, enter a four-mile race rowed in heats, "best two out of three" (they never had to row a third heat, as they never lost a race), and then row the twenty miles back, and call it a day. It isn't a question of distance. Does any sane person think a fellow can't row himself out in three miles? Why does the jockey rate the horse to the distance it has to run? Why do we have sprint runners and those who do a Marathon?

A very important lesson for the would-be oarsman is an appreciation of true sportsmanship. This is really pretty thoroughly incorporated in the modern boy's category of experience, but occasionally one has to inculcate the idea that no one is entitled to win who isn't able to accept defeat. Alibis are foolish, but legitimate excuses are often perfectly permissible. Sometimes it's the wind, sometimes it's the tide, sometimes a bad draw for position, sometimes it's just facing a stronger rival. In the last case it's foolish to try to explain away defeat because of wind, tide, or position; and the boy who shuts his teeth tight and goes into the next contest resolved to overcome all handicaps, or, if not able to overcome them, to meet them four-square, has learned something worth while and permanent.

All this talk about letting the college boy just play for the sake of playing, with no ambition or desire to win, is all nonsense. You can't put a red-blooded boy into any game, in competition with another fellow, and not expect him to try to beat out his competitor. Haven't you seen a dog start out to beat an automobile or a railway train? Well, there is a lot in common between a good dog and a good boy. Both want to get ahead and will go to the limit to do it, even though it is all in fun. The dog hasn't any particular goal in mind; neither has the boy. Each wants to beat the parallel moving object. The first time I got my little grandson into a boat he was a bit afraid for a few minutes. The instability of the craft puzzled and annoyed him. I took an oar and gave him one. He was pretty awkward at first, but after a while he got the swing and for a youngster he didn't do so badly. As we neared the float little Jim saw a rowboat with two men at the oars going in our direction. All of a sudden the little fellow began to reach out; he fairly stood up on his stretcher. "Come on, Gramp, let's beat 'em," he shouted. That's a boy's way of doing things. All this goody-goodyism about doing away with competition may be all right in its place (though I don't know what that place is), but a game is a game and a boy is in it to win. If he loses, he is game for the next brush.

The development of rowing sense requires more than physical perfection. Rowing develops the mind. Contrary to popular belief, it takes more than brawn to make an oarsman. Men of medium stature and keen intellect often win out in competition with more athletic-looking fellows. It is the fellow who "places his hits," to borrow a phrase from the diamond parlance, who makes every stroke carry the boat forward and who feathers his oar so that the recovery does not retard the run of the boat, who is the true oarsman; for this is the fellow who thinks while he pulls.

Few persons realize, for instance, that even the hands of a skillful oarsman have brains in them, so to speak. I mean by that that his hands must be like the antennæ of an insect, able to sense the slightest sensation and transmit its meaning into instant action. They may not be beautiful from an æsthetic standpoint, but you will find few men with stronger and more flexible and capable hands than the wielder of an oar. One of the most promising oarsmen who ever sat in my college crews was a student of the piano in Fine Arts College.

I think my own success can be attributed, in part certainly, to the fact that I practice what I preach. I quote the following from the Troy "Times" of August 20, 1900. It concerns a race in which I defeated Harry Vail, now coach at Wisconsin University: "It is evident that Ten Eyck is capable of rowing quite as fast to-day as he was a quarter of a century ago. He is therefore a marked contrast to his contemporaries, most of whom were 'played out' oarsmen long ago. The secret of Ten Eyck's success as a sculler, coach, and trainer may be explained in one word—brains. Lacking the splendid physical development of some other scullers, he has more than made up for it by his intelligent application of the muscular power he does possess. Ten Eyck's shell has always been rigged so that not an ounce of power has been sacrificed. Furthermore, he has always led a strictly temperate life and there has never been that alternate building up and tearing down of the system which oarsmen and other athletes undergo when they plunge from rigid training into dissipation."

It used to be the tendency, and still is to a large extent, to put form and style before everything else. During the whole history of rowing there have been those both within the fold and without who have laid the strongest emphasis on form, while the essential thing, getting the boat ahead fast and keeping it going fast, is lost sight of. To be sure, we all covet form. We'd like to see eight men rowing as one. But here's a fellow six feet and three inches tall, weighing two hundred pounds, and back of him a boy of five feet six inches, who tips the scales at one hundred and seventy. Now, no human persuasion can make those two row just alike.

I was invited aboard the coaching launch of a young rival one day to help him size up his crew. After a while he turned to me with question in eye and voice.

"Well?"

"Your No. 5 looks pretty ragged," I began. "He—"

But here the young coach broke in.

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Photograph by H. T. Borzner, Syracuse

James Ten Eyck at Syracuse giving a bit of advice

"Well, if you can make the young son of a coal-heaver row any differently I'd like to see you do it."

This incident explains more than six pages of discussion could do. We can shout: "Sit up! Get your hands away! Don't let your body follow the arc of the oar! Swing with the fellow in front of you! Control your slide!" till we are as hoarse as a bulldog; but when a boy who is an individual before he is an oarsman gets into a race he humps his back and digs his oar in deep because he wants to win the race. If he wins, the papers talk of his matchless form; but if he loses, his rowing was ragged and haphazard.

In this connection I want to quote again, this time from the "Century Magazine" for May, 1887. Written by no less a person than Julian Hawthorne, this article describes a college boat race in which a Harvard crew was defeated by the famous Ward brothers of Cornwall, New York. Incidentally, it will give some idea of the importance attached to the performances of the celebrated brothers. Let me mention here that it was the custom for college crews to compete against professional oarsmen in those early days. Julian Hawthorne writes of the Ward brothers:

"This was undoubtedly the best crew that ever sat in a boat. They came down to Boston to take part in the Fourth of July regatta on the Charles River, and our own University crew of that year was their only noticeable competitor. We extended the courtesies of our new boat-house to them, and they stayed with us about a week. Our early impressions of them were not especially favorable. They were rather a rough-looking set; they were shabbily clad; they did their pulling in dirty old red and blue flannel shirts; they did not seem to take much stock in bathing, or even in rubbing down. The boat they brought with them was not a particularly wonderful affair. As they did not strip, we had no opportunity to critically examine their development; they appeared to be a lean and wiry lot; but their average weight was hardly equal to that of our University crew, although their average age was a good deal more. But what chiefly struck us was the circumstance that they did not seem to know how to row. Their appearance when in motion was ragged and inharmonious. 'They're not together,' was our general verdict; and our own crew was so beautifully together that we had little doubt as to the issue of the race. 'They can't win with that stroke,' we said. Not but what, individually, they pulled well enough and hard enough; the trouble was that each man maintained his individuality. There was vigor, but not science.

"Instead of fearing them, we were rather amused at them, and a little sorry for them; for were they not poor men, to whom the loss of a race meant not loss of glory merely, but of the means of livelihood as well? Possibly some of us may have gone so far as to think that our fellows would act gracefully in letting them get ahead just at the finish, after having shown to every one's satisfaction that they could beat them if they chose.

"As it turned out, however, there was no necessity for putting these compassionate designs into execution. Perhaps the Ward brothers rowed in bad form;

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but it was abundantly clear, before the race was half over, that they could have pulled four miles while we were pulling three. And the worst of it was that they could not be induced to exert themselves; but, after an initial spurt, during which they appeared more like tigers than men, they paddled along at their ease, and passed the goal leaders by a few lengths only, instead of by two or three minutes; and it was evident, at the close, that they had not had half exercise enough to give them an appetite for supper; while our men had been tugging their hearts out all along. Nor must it be forgotten that the University crew of that year was one of the best, if not the best, that Harvard ever sent forth."

Such were the men and such was the skill of some of the pioneers in a game which still demands the same kind of power, though we of to-day think we must add a polish not displayed by the men who first made rowing famous.

An Interview with Sir Henry Thornton

The American Knight Who is Running Canada's National Railways

By D. M. Le Bourdais

SIR HENRY THORNTON is a genial, ruddy-faced giant. He is six feet four inches in height, broad of shoulder and deep of chest, possessing still the figure of an athlete. His thick graying hair looks as if it might once have been decidedly red.

He is one of the hardest men in Canada to interview—not that he is unwilling to talk, but because he is hard to catch. He spends most of his time traveling over the lines of his far-flung system, cheering on his subordinates, meeting the people, and acquainting himself with the needs and possibilities of his newly adopted land.

As the head of a publicly owned railway he believes that the people are entitled to know how their roads are being conducted. He also realizes that he cannot succeed without popular confidence and support, and therefore he has probably addressed more public meetings since he has been in Canada than all of the other public men in the Dominion combined; and he has thus become one of the best-known figures in the country.

"Certain public utilities, such as the post office and the army, are generally considered to be within the province of the Government," said Sir Henry as we finally faced each other for an uninterrupted hour in his office at Montreal after every one else had left. "Railways, however, have not hitherto been looked upon in Anglo-Saxon countries as being in that class," he continued, "but I am not sure a change in this respect isn't near at hand.

SIR HENRY'S belief that railways may be made a function of the government, like the army and the post office, and still kept free from politics, is not mere theory. Agree with his conclusions or not, you will find it worth while to let him tell you his experience.—THE EDITORS.

"The railways of Great Britain have been reorganized into four great systems—under private control, it is true, but it is generally admitted that the present scheme is the only possible alternative to nationalization.

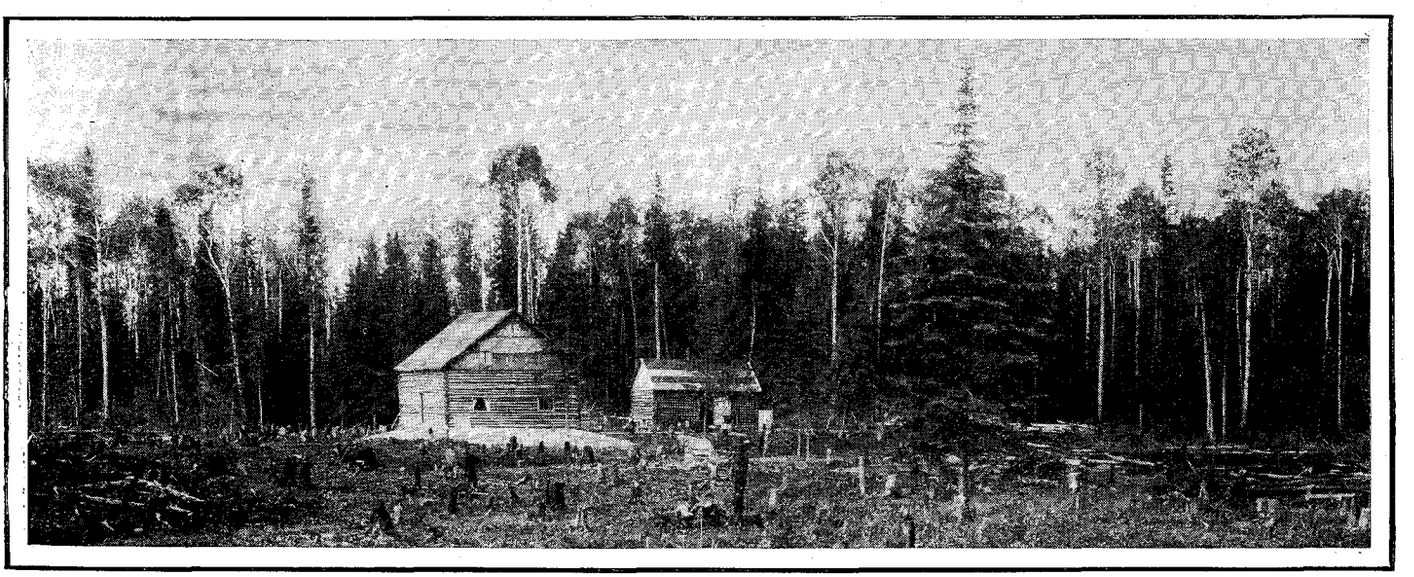
"In the United States some similar scheme has been proposed and is receiving serious consideration.

"Here in Canada more than half the railway mileage is comprised in the national system, which aggregates with branch lines somewhat more than 22,000 miles.

"The principal objection in the minds of most people when government ownership of any utility is suggested is political interference. This is a very real obstacle, but there is no sound reason why it should not be overcome if approached in the right way.

"When the plan under which the Canadian National Railways is operated was decided upon, the elimination of the evils of political interference was considered of prime importance, and that is perhaps why there is a distinction, if not a difference, between the Government railways of Canada and government-owned and operated railways elsewhere.

"In Canada the system is operated in the form of a corporation of which the Government is the sole shareholder, or at least sufficiently controls the voting



Farm in the "clay belt" of northern Ontario, showing the sort of development work which is needed to make a success of Canada's railway enterprise

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power as to appear as a single shareholder. The Government appoints the President and Board of Directors, who are intrusted with the management of the system practically as if it were a private enterprise.

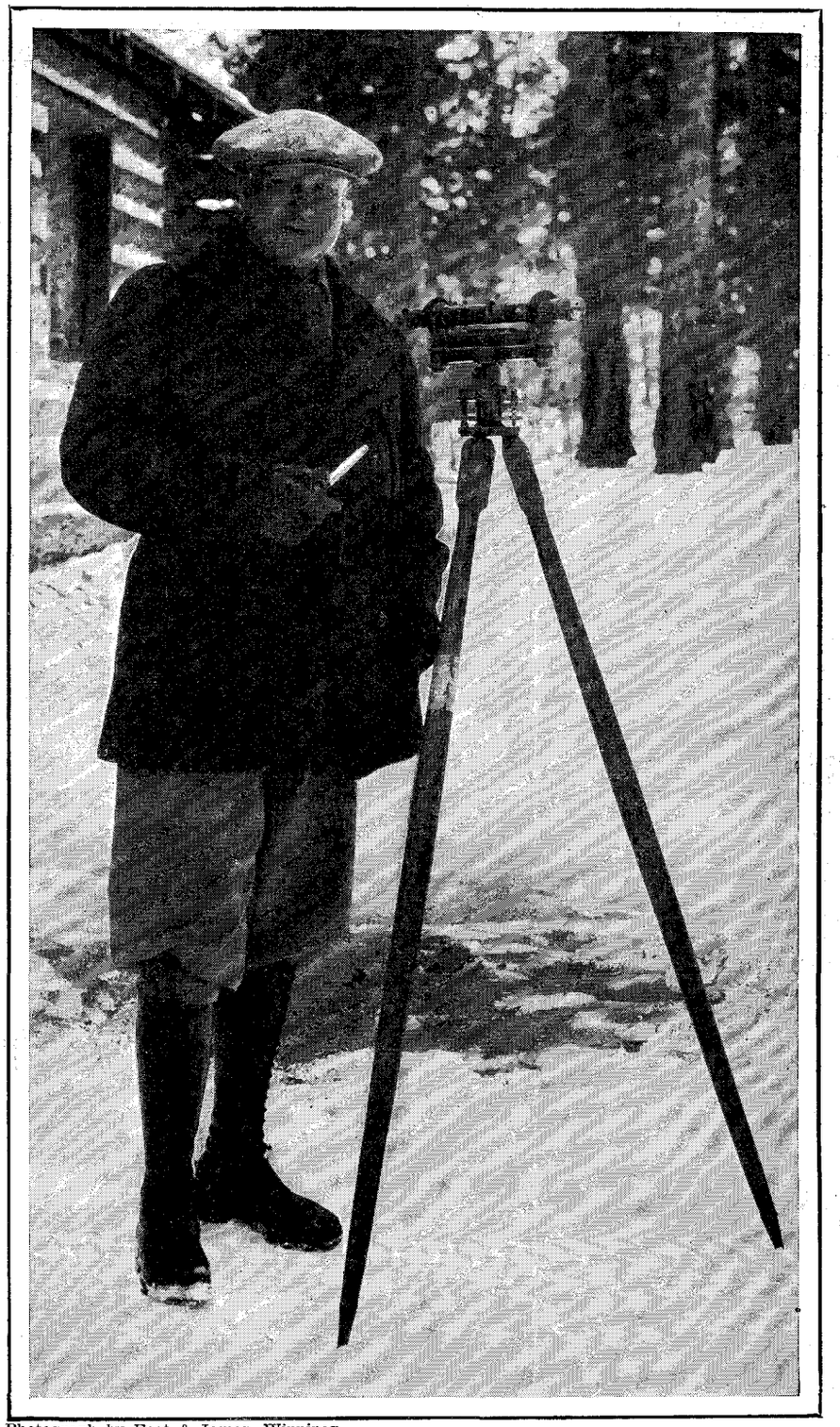
"Experiments in government railways elsewhere have taken the form of directly operating the roads by officers and men who were actually servants of the government rather than servants of the railway. This distinction is obviously important; and it certainly tends to make the elimination of undesirable influences from the administration of our railways easier than might otherwise be the case.

"When the Prime Minister of Canada did me the honor to offer me the Presidency of the Canadian National Railways, he solemnly assured me that there was to be no political interference; and it was with that distinct understanding that I accepted the post. I expect to continue in future as I have done in the past—to insist that there shall be no political interference, direct or indirect, in the administration of the Canadian National Railways. Not otherwise can there be hope of success.

"Our first task was to co-ordinate the various roads and systems into a single organization. Such great railways as the Pennsylvania and the New York Central have grown slowly. Men develop as their responsibilities increase. New men have the benefit of the experience of those who have gone before them. And, while it is never easy to build up a large organization, the evolution of the present great railway systems of the United States or Great Britain was a simple matter compared with what we were asked to do in the case of the Canadian National Railways. We were handed a group of separate and conflicting units and asked to make a system out of them almost overnight.

"Too many people think of a railway as a thing of steel. But in reality it is a huge problem in human relationships. Thus the job of linking up the various units physically was comparatively simple. But it is a different matter entirely to develop an *esprit de corps* in an army composed of a variety of distinct groups of employees scattered across the length and breadth of a great country, employees whose morale has already been shaken. I was new to my officers and they were new to me. Men had to be shifted around until the right man was found for the right place.

"A man might be a good drummer and still not know much about playing the fiddle. Our problem was to avoid putting drummers to playing the fiddle, and then to get the whole orchestra playing together. The greatest need of the Canadian National System was to develop a soul. And I think I may say, in the light of my experience during the past year, that it has found its soul.



Photograph by Foot & James, Winnipeg

Sir Henry Thornton began his railway life as an engineer on the Pennsylvania Railroad. This picture, taken at Jasper Park in the Canadian Rockies, shows him in the act of renewing acquaintance with one of the familiar surveying instruments of his youth

"Our plan has been to decentralize as much of the control as possible. In such a great system it is necessary that the heads of the various departments and divisions should exercise as great a degree of initiative as possible. Headquarters formulates the policy and serves to keep the various units working harmoniously and efficiently together.

"I believe that every employee of every industry, irrespective of its character, should receive that minimum wage which will enable him to live in decency and comfort and under proper sanitary conditions and to educate and bring up his children as self-respecting members of society. Any other policy makes for social unrest, and if carried on long enough is likely to create political upheavals.

"The wage I've indicated represents the minimum to be received. How much greater the wage may be depends upon

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the condition of industry, the value of the service rendered, and other similar factors. Labor troubles generally disappear if they are caught young—that is to say, when they are in a plastic condition. The prompt and just settlement of complaints is an effective guaranty of tranquillity. If, on the other hand, attention isn't given to such matters until they become festering sores, and both sides have delivered ultimatums, the solution becomes correspondingly difficult.

"These principles have been applied to our labor problems, and I'm glad to say that so far we've had no trouble in that connection at all; while, on the other hand, I can say with considerable pride that we have as fine an organization as any railway system could wish for.

"Our policy is to train men for the higher positions within our organization. We should never need go outside our organization to fill vacancies. In addition to the usual incentive which a man has to make good on his job, the employees of the Canadian National Railways have a further incentive; they know that they are working for a railway of which they themselves are part owners. And this is a big factor in the development of a loyal and efficient organization.

"The organization isn't working as smoothly yet as we hope and expect it will later on. A baseball team—to change the metaphor—naturally plays better together the fiftieth game than the first or second. At first we did well to get singles and an occasional two-bagger; then we got to knocking out three-baggers, but pretty soon we expect to be putting them into the bleachers for home runs!

"The Canadian people have invested over $1,500,000,000 in their railways, the fixed charges of which amount to about $62,500,000 a year. When the roads were first taken over, large sums had to be found by the Government for urgently needed equipment and long-deferred betterments. And, in addition, there were great deficits each year on operating account. But as the system became co-ordinated and economies were effected these deficits have been greatly reduced. The year 1922 showed a small operating profit for the first time. And in 1923 the operating profit was in excess of $20,000,000.

"Naturally, the question which is uppermost in the minds of most people is this: Can it be done? Will it succeed? Perhaps I may be considered a prejudiced witness, but I am prepared to go this far: Provided that the Canadian National Railways continue to be administered with the same freedom from every influence as has obtained thus far, and provided that there is a reasonable development in Canada, I can unhesitatingly say, using the language of Parliament, the answer is in the affirmative.

"But no more traffic can be got out of a country than therein exists. Canada is at present overbuilt with railways. So must be every new country. The United States at the same period in its history was also overbuilt. This means, then, that the future of the Canadian National Railways depends entirely upon the future of Canada. Economies can be effected, a higher degree of efficiency promoted, the service improved, a larger proportion of available traffic procured; but there is a point beyond which these things will not carry us, and unless there is progress in the way of development in Canada the deficits on our national railways will not be entirely eliminated, although they may be reduced to supportable limits. But I am confident that the Dominion will progress. Harriman was a great railway genius, but his greatest success lay in his ability to see the coming greatness of the American West.

"We are likewise betting on the coming greatness of Canada. And my problem is not fundamentally a railway problem. It is a development problem. After a suitable organization has been evolved and is running smoothly to take care of the day-to-day functions of the railway, the great task of the administration will be the direction of capital and immigrants to Canada for the purpose of building up the country.

"Canada is a land of untold and unsuspected natural resources, crying for capital, brains, and brawn. It seems almost incredible that a country possessing such advantages as Canada should contain a population of less than 9,000,000 people. The great prairie provinces, although they produced almost half a billion bushels of wheat last year, will yet provide homes for millions of people. Practically every province is rich in minerals, still largely undeveloped; while the last great forests of North America are in Canada. Water powers abound in every province. In the far West and far East are extensive deposits of coal. And the fisheries of Canada, both sea and fresh-water, are among the greatest in the world.

"The reward of those who enter this country with courage, brains, and industry surpasses that to be found in any other country in the world.

"Canada is a land of promise. And it is but on the threshold of its destiny."

"Dim Lanterns"

By C. H. Le Vitt

A HARVARD man has been doing some researching in education by nosing around through the papers searching for the trail of school news. He is surprised and shocked to discover that there "ain't no such thing." His finding is that there is not one little bit of noise about the schools and no commotion whatever concerning the teacher. He adds: "And, since the personality of the various men in the teaching force of the city is, in the long run, more important than the personality of the Mayor, the Comptroller, or any of the Aldermen, we wonder just what philosophy of news has conferred anonymity upon them quite so completely."

MOST of the publicity which public schools get is in the form of shillalahs and bricks. Mr. Le Vitt proposes publicity of another kind. He has practiced it successfully in Savanna, Illinois, where he acts on the principle, "If you can make public opinion right, your schools will be right." He believes in selling the schools to the public.—THE EDITORS.

School Publicity à la Mode

IF one will do a little researching on his own account and tabulate the "frequencies" of the types of "school news" which are read, seen, and heard in his community, he will find that they standardize themselves into types like these: Type One—The teacher is seen wearing a skirt abbreviated à la the prevailing fashion, and before the sun goes down on her ladyship Dame Gossip and her train have spread the glad news from Dan to Beersheba. Type Two—A modification of type one. The principal of schools at Squaw Prairie marries one of his eighth-grade pupils. This juicy morsel is syn-

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"Breakers Ahead!"

The lookout calls the warning, and if he calls it in time the ship is saved from wreck and destruction.

You may be drifting towards that reef of jeopardy, constitutional disease—such as Bright's, diabetes, etc.—without knowing it, because it gives no outward sign that is visible to the layman's eye.

You may need a "scientific lookout" to call "Breakers ahead!" before your health is wrecked by such diseases.

That is the function of our service—to be your "lookout," to make a scientific urinalysis at regular periods, to watch out in our laboratory for the "breakers" of disease and to warn you in time.

This service takes little of your time, costs little of your money, but may save you months of sickness, or worse.

Some of the biggest business executives in the country, some of America's brainiest men, have our service as their "lookout."

It is a duty to yourself and those dependent on you to investigate—which costs you nothing.

National Bureau of Analysis
O. 64 Republic Bldg., Chicago

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O. 64 Republic Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen: Please send me, free of charge, a copy of your booklet, "The Span of Life," and full particulars of your plan.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

dicated by the press far and near as school news. Type Three—Mike and Tony have it out on the playground, Marquis of Queensberry's Rules, open to the public, and ringside seats to the first on the ground. Publicity result—the schools are breeders of rowdyism and disorder. Type Four—A high school girl insists upon her prerogative to the lipstick and powder-puff. Columns of newspaper space are given to this titbit, while but a few inconspicuous lines note the fact that the N. E. A. is holding its deliberation somewhere. Type Five—Pampered Percy goes home and tells mother that teacher is "all the time picking on him." To mother and her coterie the schools are hatcheries of favoritism and partiality. To these may be added the Movie Type, the Stage Type, the Cartoon Type, and the Type of Song and Story.

The facts: The bulk of the publicity the teachers and the schools are getting is either negative or destructive.

Heaving a brick at the public school has become the most hilarious and popular reportorial pastime. After the scribbler gets writer's cramp depicting the awfulness of Hollywood and the decadence of the movie, he sits back and catches his second wind by taking a shot at the little red schoolhouse and its utter depravity.

A magazine with a National circulation says, "Wise men are declaring that the school to-day has become our greatest, most tragic failure." Another said it, with variations, the week before. And still another printed it with a shillalah obligato some time before that. And so the anvil chorus ding-a-lings.

Schoolma'ams and Pedagogues

A RECENT number of a magazine, under the caption "Why the Schoolma'am Walked Into the Sea," in an elaboration of the case, stated: "A prim-looking schoolma'am stirred up one of our daily ripples of excitement by walking into the ocean up to her neck, fully dressed. She could not resist the impulse to 'cut up.'"

The article implies that only at long intervals is the teacher human, and that the fine old traditions of teacherdom demand that she, when appearing in public, wear the halo of beneficence.

In the press, when the male teacher is given a stick of space, he is jocundly referred to as a pedagogue. The application "prof," assumed by some novitiates and applied broadcast by the laity, is almost as bad. The latter smacks of soap venders and prestidigitators.

If by some magical process the terms schoolma'ams and pedagogues could be erased from the public mind and the name teacher indelibly impressed upon it, the *status quo* of the educator would become infinitely more important.

From —— to ——

IT gets on one's nerves, these flamboyant write-ups about some man, good and great, who began life as humble teacher and who made his exit as a whale of a corporation lawyer or a merchant prince. As if, forsooth, he was the wise one, long-headed enough to see the error of his way before it was too late. Honest-to-goodness teachers are getting tired of the inference that teaching is a step-ladder to some higher plane of usefulness—a convenient bean-stalk used by sundry Jacks to scale the upper reaches of popular recognition. This "from log cabin to White House" stuff is becoming monotonous.

The truth of the matter is that these people never were teachers. The true-as-you-live teacher has no "to" in his dictionary. The only "to" that he is conscious of is the "to" of a bigger and better service in teacherdom.

The Heel of Achilles

THERE never was a time in which the selection and adaptation of subject-matter to pupil needs compared with the here and now in education. Teachers never taught so well, buildings were never so adapted to their purposes, and the public was never so appreciative as now. In no period of the past has there been such a realization that this education business is the biggest job in all the world.

In spite of this, there never has been a time when criticism of the schools has been more rampant or deadly. While we have been putting our house in order, the boll weevil and the chinch-bug of adverse publicity threaten to play havoc with our best-laid plans and schemes.

These criticisms must be answered. Arguments must be met. Good and sufficient reasons must be advanced. A good-will wall must be built around the school to keep out the ill-will bricks. Meet publicity with publicity.

The most obstructive thank-you-ma'am on the great education highway is the teacher who, when criticisms are made, sits back on his dignified haunches, readjusts his halo, and says: "I shall not answer my critics. My high calling demands no defense. I am above the calumny of the critic."

The schools are the public's schools. They are owned and maintained by the public, and, in the long run, will be run about the way the public wants them to

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Yellowstone National Park
Crater Lake National Park
Rainier National Park
The Alaskan Tour

Lose yourself for a few weeks amid the matchless natural beauty of the Pacific Northwest! Climb its mountains, camp beside its lakes and streams, roam through its wild-flower valleys, go down to its shimmering ocean beaches. You'll enjoy the glorious climate. You'll like the friendly, modern cities and the fine hotels that await you everywhere.

The Travel Bureau of the Burlington-Great Northern-Northern Pacific Railroads will help you plan your vacation. It will tell you where to go, what to see, and how to make the most of your time. It will give you an estimate of the cost. And, if you are going to any other point on the Pacific Coast, it will tell you how to plan your trip so as to include the Pacific Northwest.

P. S. Eustis, *Passenger Traffic Manager*
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.
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The Chicago Burlington & Quincy R.R.
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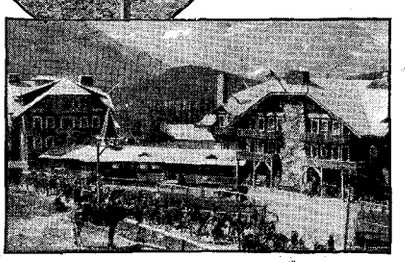
Lunch time in Yellowstone National Park



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run. There have been wonderful advances made in the science of teaching. There must be a tremendous advance made in the understanding and appreciation of this on the part of the taxpayers if the vulnerability of the heel is to be corrected and the schools are to attain the fruitage which they should have.

A splendid corps of teachers working with a twentieth-century outlook, but with its patrons living in an atmosphere of ante-bellum days, can never be a fly-spot on the map of educational endeavor.

Selling Our Schools

THERE is not a school in the country that is truly sold to its public. Certainly no one ever heard of a school which was oversold. There has never been an educational institution that has distributed its brand of thinking and doing (its only excuse for being) so thoroughly and persistently that every home in that system understood and appreciated the what and the why of its teaching. Schools, which should be the best, are the worst advertised utilities in the world. Their publicity methods are archaic and their copy altogether bromidic. The story of the schools does not get across simply because it doesn't have hooks in it. If publicity made a millionaire out of chewing-gum, what a prestige might be built for education if we could but show our people that "the flavor lasts." Isn't it about time the schools and schoolmen chucked the ages-old policy of watchful waiting and of expecting any great hullabaloo over things educational because they have the word "welcome" printed on the door-mat?

Can the schools do nothing but sit tight and then expect a whale of a demand for their output on a record of fine old traditions? Don't you fool yourself. Old Si Chology is the same hard-headed, show-me customer whether you are trying to sell him a suit of clothes or a brand of education.

Let's Go!

WE believe that the teacher's job is the most exacting in its demands, the most far-reaching in its influence, the most satisfying in its returns—the biggest job in all the world. We are convinced that, beyond a peradventure, teachers are the apostles of progress and advance agents of better things; that Standard Oil and United States Steel have nothing on education as a try-out for creative genius and executive *finesse*. We feel, down in our hearts, that we are dealing in the world's greatest necessity product, and that, back of it, is the finest material for sales-talk copy ever given a press agent. The possibilities of our market are boundless. Millions of dollars' worth of newspaper space is going a-begging—ours for the asking. The printer man is anxious to serve. Now, let's go!

The Book Table

The Elizabethan Stage[1]

A Review by BRANDER MATTHEWS

SOME day somebody will write an essay on the relation between literature and the civil service both in Great Britain and the United States. Even on this side of the Atlantic when we were a prey to the spoils system Walt Whitman and John Burroughs had places in the Treasury Department; Donald G. Mitchell, Howells, and Bret Harte were Consuls; Hawthorne and Herman Melville and Richard Grant White held positions in the Custom House. And on the eastern shore of the Western ocean there have been a host of poets and prose men who have owed their bread to their scrivening, even if they earned their butter by their writing. In the past century or so we find Burns serving the state as a gauger and Wordsworth as a stamp distributer, while Trollope was in the Post Office, Matthew Arnold in the Education Department, and Austin Dobson in the Board of Trade. They had security of tenure, with clearly defined duties to be performed in fixed hours. Outside of these fixed hours they were free to toy with the Muses.

It is to his important position in the Education Department that Mr. E. K. Chambers owes the opportunity for unwearied and unremunerated research. Thirty years ago he was contemplating a little book "about Shakespeare and the conditions, literary and dramatic, under which Shakespeare wrote." He might have begun his tale with an account of the theater as it was in the middle of the sixteenth century, "but it seemed natural to put first some short account of the origins of play acting in England and of its development in the Middle Ages." This led him into a heterogeny of historical investigations, the results of which he narrated in the "Medieval Stage," published in 1903 in two substantial volumes with a total of nearly nine hundred pages. Now, after twenty years of unceasing and unresting toil, he has followed the "Medieval Stage" with an even more monumental work on the "Elizabethan Stage" in twice as many volumes with more than twice as many pages.

This second book is worthy of the first; it is as solidly documented; it is as severe in its scholarship; it is as sane in its criticism; and it is as free from unsafe conjectures (such as disfigure a large majority of the books about Shakespeare and his times). In fact, the publication of Mr. Chambers's scholarly "Elizabethan Stage" is as creditable to the Oxford University Press as the publication of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's unscholarly edition of Shakespeare's plays is discreditable to the Cambridge University Press.

Mr. Chambers has placed the students of the English-speaking world in his debt, and he deserves the undying gratitude of every one who wants to know the English stage as it was under the Tudors. He has made an infinitely laborious collection and co-ordination of all the facts; and he has supplied a careful and cautious interpretation of these facts. He has given us the annals of the English theater as these can be reconstructed from the researches of the past half-century—researches far more elucidating than those of the preceding two and a half centuries since Shakespeare's death.

So thorough has been his investigation that I have been unable to find any point in his history where he has neglected any source of information, British or American, French or German. And of course the result is, of necessity, a book of reference. It is a series of monographs, almost a cyclopædia, to be devoured by the specialist; and it is therefore not a book for the general reader, who does not need all this erudition, even if unpedantically presented. In fact, the general reader will find all he needs in the compact and illuminating narrative in Professor Thorndike's "Shakespeare's Theater." Nevertheless Mr. Chambers's four volumes ought to be at hand for imme-

[1] The Elizabethan Stage. By E. K. Chambers. 4 vols., 1,930 pages. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York. $23.50.

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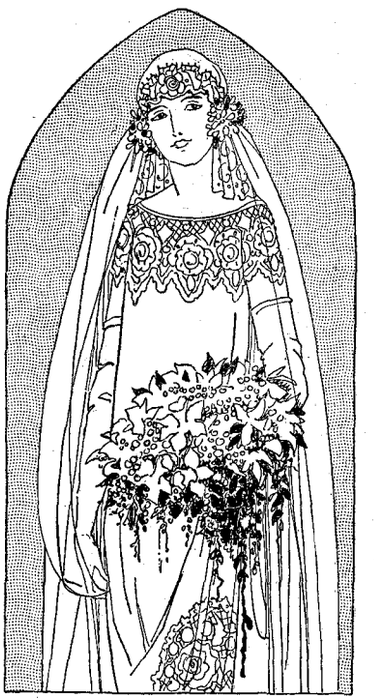
diate consultation on the shelves of every self-respecting library, because in his sturdy tomes only can the student of English literature make sure of finding all the facts needful for reconstruction of the conditions in accord with which Shakespeare and his fellow-Elizabethans wrought their marvels. And all this information is made instantly available by a series of indexes filling sixty double-columned pages.

In the first volume Mr. Chambers deals with the Court, with "Eliza and our James," with the Revels Office, with the pageants and the masques, and with the plays performed before the monarch. He supplements this with a discussion of the governmental control of the stage and of the struggle between Humanism and Puritanism. In the second volume he describes the companies of boy actors (against whom Shakespeare protested in "Hamlet"). Then he describes the constitution and he traces the careers of the twenty companies of adult actors. After this come three chapters on Italian players in England, English players in Scotland, and English players on the Continent. And he ends the volume with a list of the sixteen public theaters and of the two "private houses," accompanied by an explanation of their structure and their organization.

The third volume opens with a description of the methods of staging at Court and in the theaters. Then he takes up the many hotly debated questions as to the printing of plays. The final three hundred pages of this third volume contain what is likely to prove the most useful part of Mr. Chambers's book—an alphabetical catalogue of the playwrights, with under each a list of all his plays, accompanied by all the known facts about each of these pieces, dates of performance and of entry by the stationers, and of actual publication. And the fourth volume catalogues in like manner the anonymous plays, masques, and entertainments of one sort or another. Then follow a dozen appendixes, in which Mr. Chambers prints a host of calendars, records, documents of one kind or another, many of them difficult to consult elsewhere. Scattered through the four volumes are a dozen illustrations chosen with excellent judgment and certain to be helpful to all who are desirous of visualizing an actual performance in the Elizabethan theater.

I find that I have omitted to mention that Mr. Chambers has done all that it is now possible to do to inform us as to the repertories of the several companies of actors. Also I have failed to note that he companions his list of dramatic authors with a list of all the actors of the



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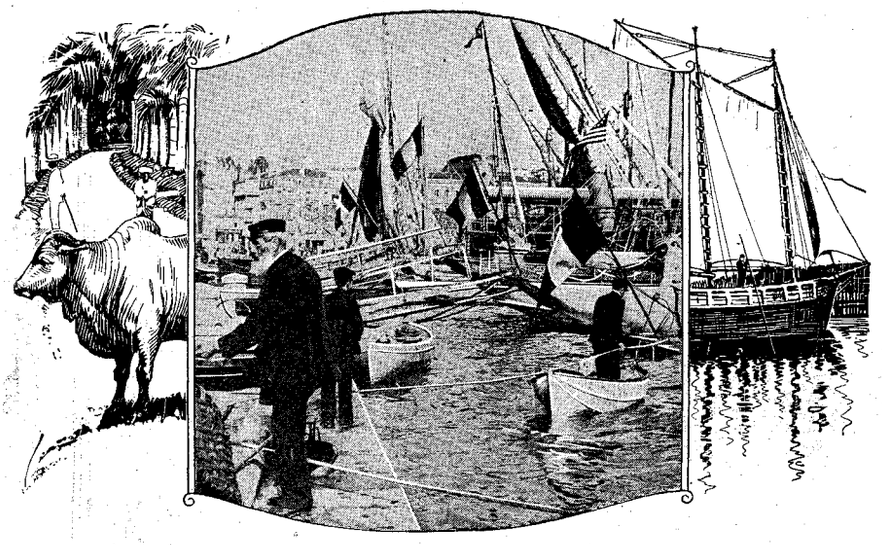

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The New Books

FICTION

HEU-HEU, OR THE MONSTER. By H. Rider Haggard. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $2.

Sir Rider Haggard is a born teller of yarns. Of that finer art which can lift the mere wonder tale to the realm of tragedy, poetic fantasy, or high romance he is not possessed; but his gift within its limitations is genuine. In "Heu-Heu," the latest of his more than fifty books, three familiar characters from former stories reappear: Allan Quatermain, the old hunter; Hans, his Hottentot servant; and the wizard Zikali. One reader, at least, following the marvelous new adventures of the resourceful Allan with a sense of amused toleration of the fact that they really afforded some pleasure, suddenly had a curious thought. Suppose, instead of the favorite query, "What books would you choose to have with you if you were to be marooned upon a desert island?" the question were asked: "If your life, like Scheherezade's, depended upon telling from memory—but for two or three or seven or ten nights in place of the impossible thousand—a story a night that would command the attention of a bored monarch, an Oriental despot, or a savage chieftain, upon what writer of your own time and tongue would you prefer to rely?"

No doubt one person's answer might not be another's any more than to the desert island question, but it is pretty certain that Sir Rider Haggard would receive a large complimentary vote!

MAZAROFF MYSTERY (THE). By J. S. Fletcher. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

In the six years during which Mr. J. S. Fletcher has been writing novels of plot and mystery his stories have maintained a surprising level of excellence. Mr. Fletcher respects, without magnifying, his art. His intricate plots and tangled clues, presented as mere dehumanized puzzles, would probably suffice to please an unexacting public; but in all his novels the people, though lightly sketched,

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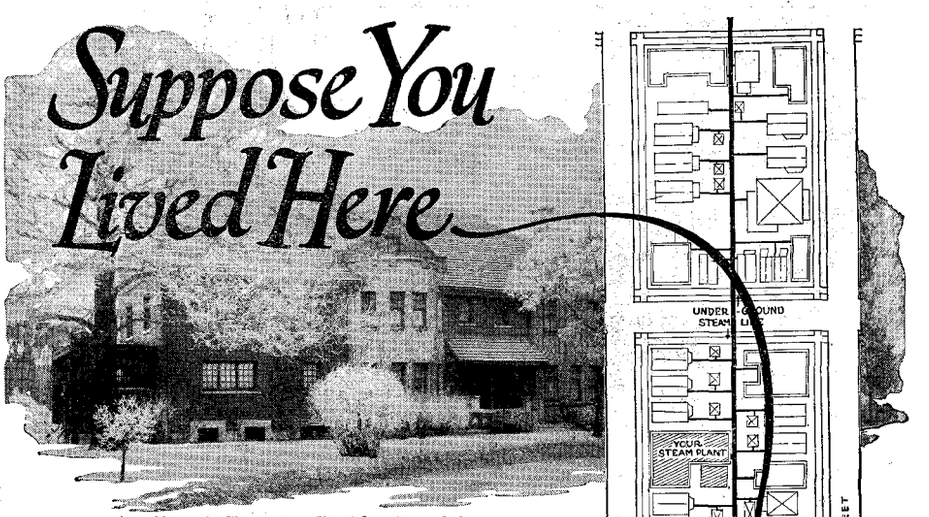
are real people, neither types nor wooden figures. So too his settings are something more than merely violently cheerful for contrast or gloomy, gruesome, and ghastly for atmosphere. His real people live in real places, and in certain cases where the action occurs in small and very ancient English towns he has succeeded in making whole locations and communities a distinctive and interesting part rather than a background of the story. His style is always lucid, easy, and pleasant—one is almost tempted to add, with apologies, the discredited Victorian epithet "refined," in view of the happy scarcity of thieves' argot and underworld slang. He seems to realize that, while it is interesting and exciting to meet crooks occasionally and briefly, their continued company is rarely to be desired.

Mr. Fletcher deals with the extraordinary; but he propounds no mystery which cannot be solved credibly at the end. Neither does he maintain suspense by the simple but exasperating device, too often employed, of saving up for the climax information acquired pages back by the hero or sleuth or whoever it may be whose efforts the reader has been following, and whose full confidence he feels justly defrauded not to have been permitted to share. Mr. Fletcher's reader learns things in their proper order; if there is a surprise at the end, and there often is, it is a fair one. "The [redacted]azaroff Mystery," his latest story, is a [redacted]d average example of the work of this [redacted] experienced, and competent expert [redacted]steries.

[redacted]NEW YORK. By Edith Wharton. Four [redacted]lumes: **"False Dawn" (The Forties), "The [redacted]d Maid" (The Fifties), "The Spark" (The [redacted]ties), "New Year's Day" (The Seventies).** D. Appleton & Co., New York. $5. ($1.25 each).

Curiosity and interest are excited at the outset by the scheme of Mrs. Wharton's group of stories called "Old New York," related, so the sub-titles indicate, to the city's social life in the Forties, Fifties, Sixties, and Seventies. The plan's attractiveness is aided by delightful old-time drawings of scenes in those decades on the volumes' covers and lining papers.

This pleasing scheme, however, is an adventitious rather than vital element of value. It smacks of the publisher rather than of the author. The true interest is not one of period, but of eternal human nature. As a matter of fact, these four fine short stories were published in two different periodicals, and not, we believe, in their present order. Moreover, in their time-relation the stories of the Forties and Fifties might have been interchanged with a few touches, while that of the Sixties frankly has its action and talk in the Nineties, with only a backward



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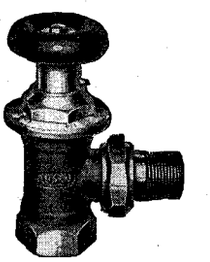

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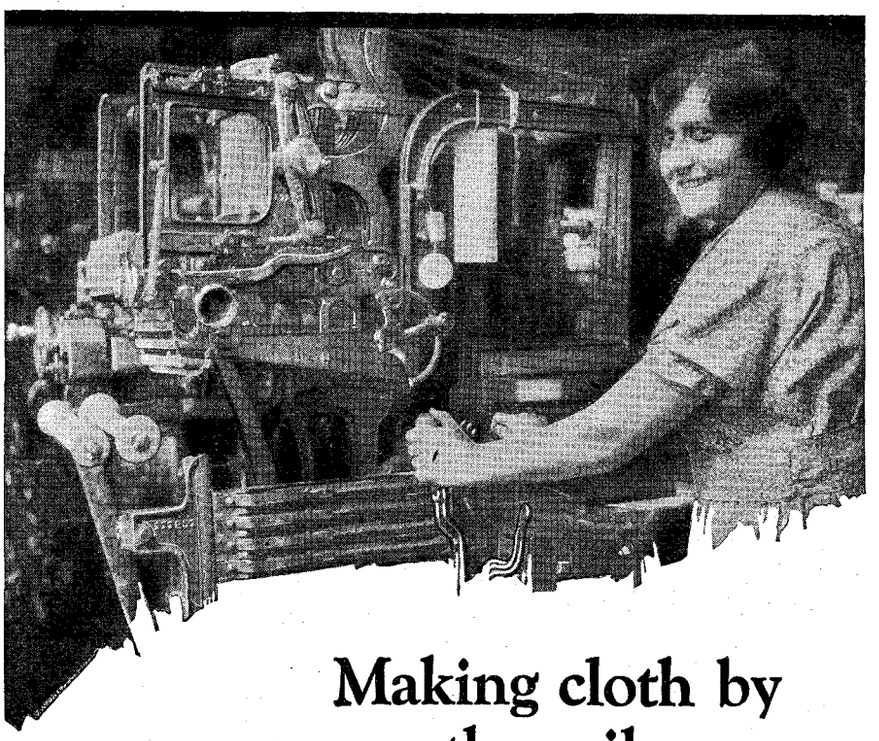
glance at the Sixties, so that the reader who has not carefully perused his cover-blurb is mightily puzzled.

No; the worth of these stories is in their merciless, powerful depiction of human suffering under social bondage and the deadly pressure of convention. Mrs. Wharton has never gone deeper than here in showing how in "society" circles the individual who stumbles, or sins, or simply (as in "False Dawn") is ahead of his time in recognition of genius, shrinks and shrivels under the iron necessity of keeping up appearances.

We seem to detect a new note in the author's writing, one of sympathy for the victim, stronger than the irony by which here, as elsewhere, she has lightly yet keenly flicked at society's dull and deadly tyranny. This is especially true of "The Old Maid," which has rarely been surpassed as a study of inevitable tragedy in a woman's life. In this case the woman is unable either to show motherhood-feeling for her illegitimate daughter or to bear with fortitude the jealousy she feels when the daughter's love inclines to the woman who saves the girl socially by adopting her. Mrs. Wharton is far too great an artist in words to treat this situation emotionally or sentimentally, but one knows that for once her sympathy with distress is stronger than her ironical intent. "The Old Maid" and, but in a less degree, "New Year's Day" have situation an character actuality enough to have b expanded easily into fuller and n complete works of fiction.

"The Spark" has an unexpected ward glance to Walt Whitman, wh by his chance talk influenced the lit ideas of a man who didn't kno Walt was. In "False Dawn" wis self-sufficient New York regards and Rossetti as art-quacks and inestimably precious collection of Primitives lie dust-covered in a long after their wistful collec passed away—a laughing-stock an prophet without honor. These two are shorter and less well filled out th the other two, which might be called



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novelettes if that word had not a connotation not quite dignified enough.

It is a cause of congratulation that these four stories have been brought together in this pretty and fanciful format. They are collectively a substantial, although in a sense a minor, addition to the author's literary production.

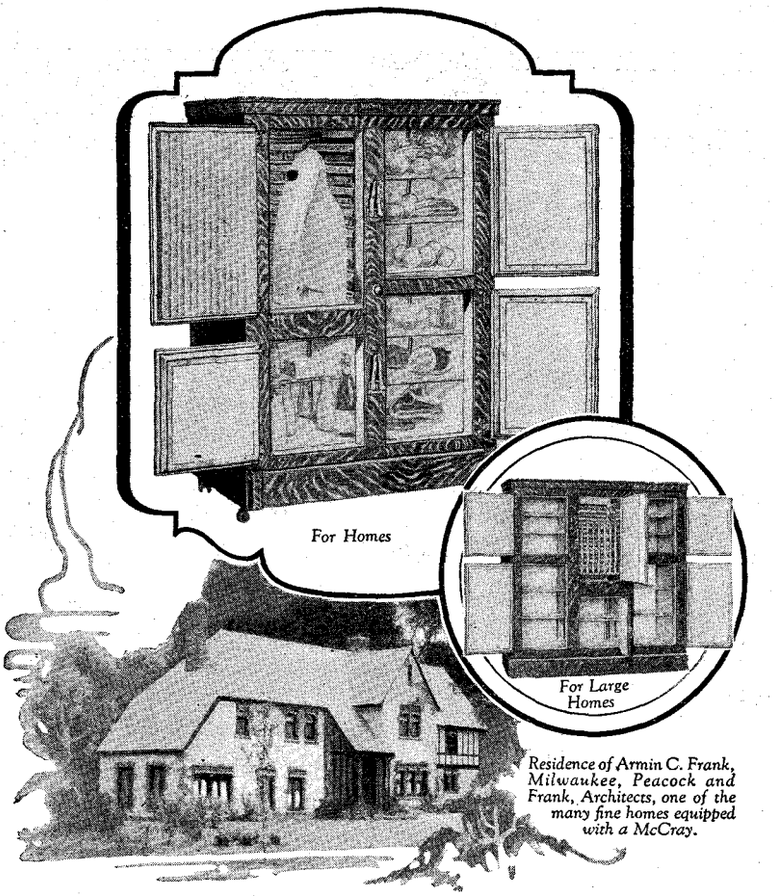
BIOGRAPHY

MY WANDERINGS AND MEMORIES. By Lady Norah Bentinck. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $4.

The Britishers are not the only ones that dearly love a lord—or lady. In that respect we certainly equal and perhaps surpass them. And so there will be a sure market for Lady Bentinck's book in this country. To read it must be very much like meeting her in person, and, of course, the latter alternative is not open to every one. And the acquaintance will probably prove agreeable in either case. It is such a funny book—we use the term in any sense you please. It is such a quaint mixture of egotism, naïveté, good humor, rather keen observation, and that true humor which finds endless material for laughter in man's various struttings. To any one bothered by a sense of logic it must be a source of serious annoyance, for the mind of the titled writer leaps lightly, and without palpable connection, from prunes to prisms, from Paddington to Paris. The portrait of Lady Bentinck that serves as a frontispiece has for its caption the single word "Myself" and the date of 1923. It might be the title of the whole book, with the date left out. But any one genuinely interested in the workings of the human mind will find her book both valuable and entertaining—as a human document anecdotally reflecting the operations of many minds besides that of the writer.

BOLÍVAR. By Henry Rowan Lemly. The Stratford Company, Boston. $4.

The author is a retired major of the United States Army. For some years he held the rank of colonel in the Colombian Army and was Director of the National Military School at Bogotá. He has undertaken to supply a long-felt want—namely, a detailed biography in English of the most remarkable man South America has produced. The result of his efforts is a book sufficient in length but in no other respect. Major Lemly lacks almost every quality required of a satisfactory biographer and historian. The critical spirit, the gift of portraiture, a topographical sense (especially important for dealing with the Liberator's campaigns), humor, wit, style—none of these qualifications are apparent in the book under review. It is unpleasant to say these things; but truth requires it. Bolívar is one of the most vivid personalities of the world's history. He has



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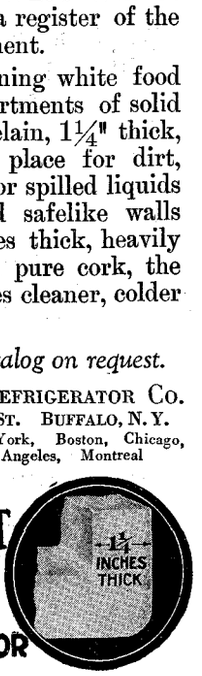

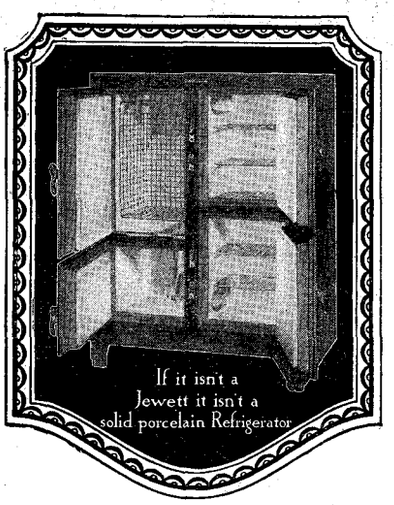

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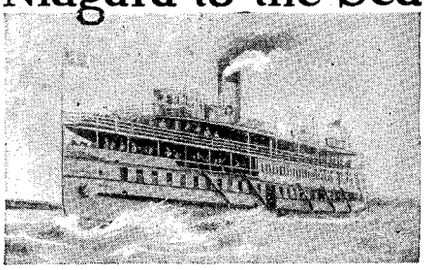
Niagara to the Sea



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had no satisfactory biographer in any language. It is high time he had one.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

GRENOBLE AND THEREABOUTS. By Henri Ferrand. The Medici Society, Limited, London and Boston. $2.50.

The Medici Society, famous for its artistic reproductions of old masterpieces, is bringing out a new series of guide-books that differ from old Baedeker's not only because they leave out such routine items as hotel and railway accommodations, but still more because they are illustrated by a large number of photographic reproductions of unusual merit and beauty. They are of French origin, having grown out of the interesting activities of the Syndicat d'Initiative of Grenoble—a sort of seeing-France-first society—and so it is quite proper that the first volume, written by Henri Ferrand, should be devoted to the Dauphiné and to Grenoble, capital of the French Alps and birthplace of Stendhal. Both the text and the illustrations are of such a kind that the volume in question will be not the least welcome to those who can never hope to see the beauties described in it with their bodily eyes.

PEARLS AND SAVAGES. By Captain Frank Hurley. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $7.50.

Little by little every corner of the globe, whether habited or not, is subjected to the searching scrutiny of civilized man. Few such corners still remain unsearched. One of the latest and last to be visited and made to yield its own particular parcel of secrets is that part of New Guinea known as Papua, where along the tropic waters of Lake Murray prehistoric tribes of head-hunters still eat the bodies and preserve the heads of their slain enemies. Into these waters Captain Hurley, formerly known as an Antarctic explorer, penetrated in a radio-equipped motor boat that enabled him to make daily reports of his discoveries to the newspapers at Sydney. It is hard to imagine a meeting of greater extremes. The volume now published gives an entertaining as well as instructive record of his observations and experiences during a voyage that took him through a large part of Papua to a region never before entered by white men. The photographs brought back from this voyage and reproduced in his book are as interesting as the story itself.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

GEORGE III AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Frank Arthur Mumby. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $5.

Obviously this method of presenting history is one of the best; no doubt for certain periods or episodes it is the very best—the method, that is, of letting the story be told so far as practicable by participants in or competent close-hand observers of the events described; the function of the author-compiler being to

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make a judicious selection of his source material and to furnish the required connective tissue of comment, explanation, and criticism. A certain use of official documents, of contemporary tracts or other publications (as, for the period covered by this book, the Letters of Junius), is "indicated"; but the ideal material is private letters written quite without view to publication. Such letters are, as some one has said, "like unsuspected doors which, when opened, throw new light on the pages of history." No matter how long ago written, these letters keep the dew on them; beyond all other literature they have the characters of candor, of disinterestedness, of actuality. The book under consideration deals with the immediate origins of the American Revolution; it begins with the accession of George III and ends with the affair at Lexington.

Mr. Mumby has done his work very well. His selections have been made judiciously, and his own supplemental and connective contributions are adequate but unobtrusive. Washington, Chatham, Burke, Franklin, John Wilkes, Lord Chesterfield, Hutchinson, Commodore Hood, Sam Adams, Charles Fox, and Horace Walpole are among the correspondents. The quotations from the last named, the prince of letter writers, add greatly to the charm and vivacity of the book.

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Books Received

FICTION

CONTES BLEUS. By Edouard Rene Lefebvre de Laboulaye. Edited by George Ellas Wisewell. Allyn & Bacon, New York. 80c.

GERTRUDE OF DENMARK. By Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman. The Marshall Jones Company, Boston. $2.

IMMORTALS (THE). By Harold E. Scarborough. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $2.

DRAMA

JUDITH OF TYRE. By Martha M. Seavey. James T. White & Co., New York. $1.25.

KESTREL EDGE, AND OTHER PLAYS. By Wilfrid Gibson. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

BOYHOOD OF EDWARD MACDOWELL (THE). By Abbie Farwell Brown. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $2.

EDUCATIONAL

MEASURING RESULTS IN EDUCATION. By Marion Rex Trabue. The American Book Company, New York.

NEW LARNED HISTORY (THE). Vols. IX and X. The C. A. Nichols Publishing Company, Springfield, Massachusetts.

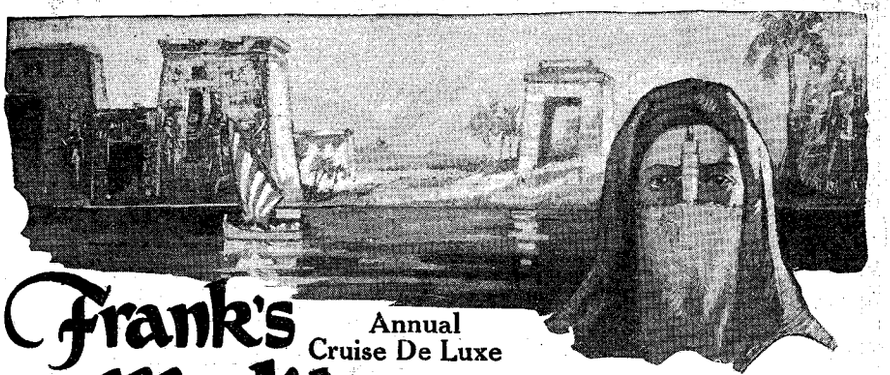
POETRY

DOUBLE SHIELD (THE). By E. S. Goodhue. The Faith and Philosophy Publishing Company, Honolulu, Hawaii. $1.

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN (THE). Translated by Wilmer Cave Wright. Loeb Classical Library. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

WORLD'S BEST EPIGRAMS (THE). By J. Gilchrist Lamson. The George H. Doran Company, New York.



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